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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT OF THOMAS CARLYLE

by

(C) GENEVIEVE MARIE JOHNSON-CIRESI

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

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ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with Thomas Carlyle's view of the relationship between society and education in England in three distinct time periods, the past, the present and the future. Before beginning a detailed analysis of Carlyle's understanding of England in each of these respective eras, a brief account of the major developments in his personal and literary life was considered necessary. Chapter II, "The Man and His Work", provides this necessary background material.

In Chapter III, "The Past", Carlyle's somewhat romantic notions of English society and education in the Middle Ages are outlined. Carlyle believed that medieval society contained a certain degree of internal spirituality and that this was reflected in all political, social, economic and educational practices. Society in those times was in harmony with God's plan for mankind. Britain, within its feudal context, was healthy and complete, reflecting a certain degree of innate nobility.

"The present condition of England" is explored in Chapter IV. In examining contemporary society, Carlyle concluded that a general lack of Godliness was the underlying cause of all the chaos and disorder which he believed characterized Britain in the nineteenth century. The ancient methods would no longer suffice, but the British nation, in its ungodly condition, was not replacing dead and decaying practices with Noble, Divine alternatives. "Ballot Boxing" Democracy, laissez-faire donothingism", and obsolete, mechanical educational

practices were the evil, dark institutions of contemporary society. Carlyle believed that a lack of true religion, an insufficient and insincere relationship with God, was the cause of all of England's acute social maladies.

Chapter V deals with Carlyle's remedial prescription for the future spiritual revitalization of England. His ultimate suggestions stressed reverence, obedience and prayer. However, several more concrete, practical measures were advanced, of which education was fundamental. An analysis of Carlyle's writings indicate that he was very optimistic about the future spirituality of Britain and that, in fact, promise of improvement was already discernible in certain practices.

Chapter VI examines Carlyle's influence and reputation within the context of his own century. The "Conclusion" goes on to address the question, "to what extent has Carlyle's vision of the future been realized in twentieth century Britain?" A speculative hypothesis as to what Carlyle's evaluation of the spiritual quality of contemporary society might be concludes the study.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT - DEDICATION

To Dr. P. J. Miller -

who introduced me to Thomas Carlyle and the nineteenth century.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to analyse the major writings of Thomas Carlyle in order to determine his views on society and education. Just over a century has elapsed since Carlyle's death in 1881 and although he has drifted into obscurity, his analysis may well be more valuable in our century than ever it was in his own. Although a change in century has brought about changes in terminology, the underlying concerns which Carlyle expressed remain in the twentieth century as valid as they were in the nineteenth century.

Much of Carlyle's life was dedicated to discovering and understanding the relationship that he believed existed between the political, social, economic and educational arrangements of a society and its internal spiritual condition. The concept of an internal force, be it emotional, psychological or personal, determining the outward expression or interpretation of the material world is in no sense peculiar to Carlyle's time. The relationship between hidden internal forces and external realities is a relationship which consistently must be clarified and re-examined. Since Carlyle's concerns were with the spiritual condition of man and society, an analysis of his philosophical position may prove valuable in clarifying the spiritual condition of our own society.

Recognition of Carlyle's transcendental orientation has always existed. However, to date, the writer is not aware of one study that has

approached an analysis of his writings from an essentially spiritual position. Since Carlyle's social philosophy is based upon a spiritual foundation, only a study which focuses on the spiritual essence of a society will reflect his true social concerns. Carlyle was much more a prophet than a political reformer. In fact, an analysis of the spirituality within political, social, economic and educational practices is a study which Carlyle himself undertook.

It is curious to note, however, that Carlyle's social philosophy, even from a material or "earthly" perspective, has not adequately been analysed. A single text which deals with the details of Carlyle's overall understanding of British society in the past, present or future is not available. That is not to say that an abundant amount of published material has not concerned itself with Carlyle; quite the contrary. But the nature of the literature about Carlyle has dealt with his philosphical - political positions in either too general or too narrow terms. For example, numerous books titled Carlyle or Thomas Carlyle are available.[1] Within the confines of one cover, they all attempt to give a very general over-view of Carlyle's life from birth to death, an analysis of his major writings, the forces which influenced him, miscellaneous scandals and occasionally an hypothesis on the cause of his popularity or lack of it.

Apart from these very broad, general, biographical explorations of Carlyle's life and works, a number of texts exist which purport to unravel the unfathomable, incomprehensible aspects of his writings. H. Larkin's Carlyle and the Open Secret of His Life[2] and Thomas Carlyle: How To Know Him by B. Perry[3] are typical of such publications and as

the titles suggest are digested, summarized and paraphrased versions of Carlyle's major works and subsequent positions. Similarly, numerous publications have addressed themselves to the task of "translating" specific Carlylean works. Sartor Called Resartus by G. B. Tennyson[4] attempts to analyse and make comprehendable Carlyle's Sartor Resartus. B. H. Lehman's Carlyle's Theory of the Hero is as narrow in its objective as it seeks to clarify only one aspect of Carlyle's political philosophy.[5] We find fragmentary aspects of Carlyle's overall position analyzed and examined in detail, for example, Thomas Carlyle's Moral and Religious Development by Ewald Flügel.[6] Even unpublished manuscripts and miscellaneous personal letters which were found among his papers after his death were collected and published as The Last Words of Thomas Carlyle.[7]

In terms of quantity and diversity of approach and emphasis yet another analysis of Carlyle hardly seems necessary. Still, it is curious that Carlyle's writings have never been adequately studied from an educational perspective. Despite Carlyle's advancement of education as one of two fundamental reforms necessary for the future harmony of British society, his thoughts on education and its social significance have never really been addressed. Thus, an examination of Carlyle's educational observations and suggestions as they relate to his total social philosophy, it seems, is long overdue.

The span of Carlyle's literary career was some six decades, commencing in 1822 with the publication of a number of articles for the Edinburgh Encyclopedia and concluding in 1881 with the release of Reminiscences, an autobiography edited by James Anthony Froude. Over the course of better than half a century Carlyle's views naturally matured and developed. Critics have argued, however, that Carlyle's

position did more than merely ripen and clarify itself as his literary life progress; that, in fact, it changed markedly.

Critics of Carlyle have suggested that his initial concerns regarding the condition of England modified themselves during his lifetime into a fanatic obsession with heroes or great men. Superficially this may be a reasonable observation considering that his early essays did, in fact, primarily address British political, social and economic problems. At the same time, it is true that many of Carlyle's later works dealt with specific individuals in history, for example, Oliver Cromwell, Fredrick the Great and Early Kings of Norway. To suggest that major changes occurred, however, is to misinterpret his thought. Although his specific area of emphasis fluctuated somewhat from work to work, his fundamental existential belief that the spiritual essence within is the source and cause of all material reality remained consistent through his entire lifetime.

Still, a certain difficulty does exist in attempting to broadly generalize Carlyle's opinions and beliefs over the course of his almost sixty years of speculating and writing. The finer details of his political and social philosophy did clarify and adjust themselves as his genius matured and as England herself changed as the nineteenth century unfolded. "Characteristics", published in 1831, cries for a regeneration of man's faith in God while "Shooting Niagara? And After?", released in 1867, insists that future leadership must be delegated to a true aristocracy. Yet the spiritual emphasis of these two essays remains the same. Carlyle's practical suggestions and priorities, naturally, demonstrate some developmental changes over time. Because this study is primarily concerned with the consistent spiritual focus of Carlyle's philosophical

and social positions, the maturational modifications which are evident in his works have been consciously by-passed.

In examining the spiritual essence of Carlyle's social philosophy and its relation to education, it is necessary to consider almost all of his thoughts and writings. Apart from several early (1827-1837) essays which deal primarily with literature and a few other works which sprung from private concerns, all of Carlyle's books and essays must necessarily contribute, in one sense or another, to an overall understanding of his philosophical position.

It is not possible to isolate one aspect of Carlyle's social philosophy and grasp its full significance. Each and every distinct component of Carlyle's conceptualization of society, in the past, present or future, by his own organic definition, depends on and relates to every other component. Consequently, the concerns of this study are in no sense clearly delimited. The following chapters deal with politics, sociology, economics, culture, religion, and only as one further, though integral, fraction of a total system, education.

In trying to focus on such a large body of literature and trying equally to deal effectively with three different time settings, some clarity or fineness of detail regarding specific points may have been lost. Lengthy analysis of fragments of Carlyle's general philosophy are possible and, as previously mentioned, exist in abundance. Microscopic examination of this nature may contribute to an understanding of Carlyle, but the purposes of this study demand a more general investigation of his position. Thus, it is by conscious choice that any delimitation of material has been avoided in this study.

In surveying this panorama of literature and ideas, we find that

Carlyle often wrote in response to specific political, social, or economic events. The two most obvious examples of this are The French Revolution: A History which represents Carlyle's reaction to the revolution in France and his warning that a similar rebellion could conceivably develop in England, and "Chartism" which deals with the causes of the Chartist Movement. Less apparent examples permeate many of Carlyle's works; the rise of democratic philosophy, the extension of suffrage, changes in industry and production, increases in unemployment and the rising number of poor and destitute are all frequently referred to in Carlyle's books and essays.

It is very difficult, perhaps even misleading, to reword or modernize passages and thoughts from Carlyle's works. Thus, in attempting to unravel his social philosophy and its educational dimensions, I have allowed Carlyle, whenever possible, to speak for himself. Carlyle often employed elaborate metaphor and allegory in communicating his point. To paraphrase a metaphor is to lose much of its implicit meaning and, thus, I have generally resisted the temptation to restate Carlyle. Although Carlyle has been accused of being somewhat incomprehensible in his literary style and purpose, it is hoped that the directly quoted material, within the context of the surrounding commentary, will be clear.

Virtually all of Carlyle's political, social, economic and educational observations, diagnosis and prescriptive measures were made in relation to his own country, England. It is for this reason that this study has primarily concerned itself with that country. However, Carlyle's concerns for the present and remedial prescriptions for the future social harmony of England are in no sense limited to one specific country. The essence of his position and the obsessive spiritual nature

of his concerns are applicable, certainly, to the entire western hemisphere, perhaps, to the whole world.

The spiritual quality of a society as manifest in its philosophies, policies and practices, I would suggest, transcends not only space but time itself. It is on that assumption that the organization of this thesis is based. Chapter II provides a necessary biographical sketch as well as a general overview of Carlyle's most significant essays and books. Some discussion of certain of his major ideas (Hero-Theory, Gospel of Labor) is given as prerequisites to a detailed analysis of three distinct time periods. Chapter III outlines the level of spirituality in medieval England which Carlyle believed expressed itself in most practices and institutions. Chapter IV goes on to discuss the lack of spirituality which Carlyle observed as characteristic of his own epoch. He attributes all of England's social maladies to a lack of Godliness; a want of belief in things unseen. Carlyle's remedial prescription for the future harmony of a spiritually revitalized Britain are supplied in Chapter V. An examination of the spiritual nature of Carlyle's influence in the nineteenth century as well as some speculative remarks on how Carlyle may have evaluated this century combine to form the conclusion of this study.

FOOTNOTES

1. E. Neff, Carlyle, Russell and Russell, New York, 1932, is perhaps the best available book by this title. L. Cazamian, Carlyle, The MacMillan Company, New York, 1932, provides a good general introduction to Carlyle. D. Lammond, Carlyle, Duckworth, London, 1934, outlines a clear chronology of Carlyle's life. J. Nichol's Thomas Carlyle, MacMillan and Co., Limited, London, 1892 sheds some light on Carlyle's life as it was interpreted just after his death; W. Wylie's Thomas Carlyle, Marshall Japp and Company, London, 1881 does about the same.

2. H. Larkin, Carlyle and the Open Secrets of His Life, Kegan Paul, Trench and Company, London, 1886.

3. B. Perry, Thomas Carlyle: How To Know Him, The Bobbs - Merrill Company Publishers, Indianapolis, 1915.

4. G. Tennyson, Sartor Called Resartus: The Genesis, Structure, and Style of Thomas Carlyle's First Major Work, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1965.

5. B. Lehman, Carlyle's Theory of the Hero: Its Sources, Development, History, and Influence on Carlyle's Work, Duke University Press, North Carolina, 1928.

6. E. Flügel, Thomas Carlyle's Moral and Religious Development, M. L. Holbrook and Company, New York, 1891.

7. T. Carlyle, The Last Words of Thomas Carlyle, D. Appleton and and Company, New York, 1892.

CHAPTER II

THE MAN AND HIS WORKS

> Surely I could wish you returned into your own poor nineteenth century, its follies and maladies, its blind or half-blind, but gigantic toilings, its laughter and its tears, and trying to evolve in some measure the hidden Godlike that lies in its; — that seems to me the kind of feat for literary men...I do believe for one thing, a man has no right to say to his own generation, turning quite away from it, "Be dammed!" It is the whole past and the whole future, this same cotton-spinning, dollar-hunting, canting and shrieking, very wretched generation of ours. Come back into it, I tell you...(Carlyle to Emerson)

Thomas Carlyle was born on the 4th of December, 1795, at Ecclefechan, in the county of Dumfries just a few miles north of the English border.[1] His father, James Carlyle, a stone-mason by trade, had by his second wife, Margaret Aitken, nine children of whom Thomas was the eldest.[2] In Reminiscences Carlyle clearly expresses his relationship to and affections for both his parents.

> If my dear mother, with the trustfulness of a mother's heart, ministered to all my woes outward and inward, and even against hope kept prophesying good, he, with whom I communicated far less, who could not approve my schemes, did nothing that was not kind and fatherly.[3]

To fully appreciate Carlyle's early childhood years one must consider the age of great revolutions into which he was born. The French Revolution, a subject which would later bring him fame and fortune, was shaking the entire European continent with its anti-aristocracy and germinating democratic ideology. England led the Industrial Revolution. Changes in the way work was done resulted in changes in the entire organization of British society. Mechanical inventions such as the first threshing machine (1785) and improved systems of farming such as crop rotation were further advances in the agricultural revolution. A transportation revolution some decades earlier had resulted in vastly improved methods of moving large quantities of merchandise and produce. Inventions of all descriptions began to appear in England; for example, the "Cotton Jenny" in 1764. Modifications and elaborations of Cartwright's power loom of 1784 ultimately resulted in the development of England's incredible cotton industry. In 1880 one man could weave more cloth than two hundred men could have produced in 1770. The economic and social consequences of such rapid change were profound. The transition for an agricultural based society to a manufacturing society resulted in devastating social upheaval. Large manufacturing cities developed and the urban problems of unemployment, housing, proverty, crime and vice developed simultaneously. The soon to become powerful middle-class began to develop. To conceptualize the context into which Carlyle was born is to recognize the age of transition[4] or revolution which characterized England at the end of the eighteenth century.[5]

Life in the village of Ecclefechan, however, did not immediately reflect the consequences of all these economic and social changes. Civilization here remained simple and basically family-oriented with religion still representing the foundation of most convictions. Carlyle reminisces about the significant position religion held for his father. He recalls,

> Without religion he would have been nothing... Religion was the pole-star for my father. Rude and uncultivated as he otherwise was, it made him and kept him "in all points a man."[6]

Of his mother Carlyle says,"she was the only true Christian in the world."[7] Yet the Carlyles rejected their local minister and parish and adhered, rather, to a much stricter sect, referred to as the Seceders. The rigidity of their personal Calvinism was even greater than the Church of Scotland.

For Carlyle's parents the world was a field where God had placed mankind to fear and serve him. The will must battle the baser nature of the race with an unceasing vigilance. Passion, pride and sloth are snares of the devil. The substance of grace is to discover one's daily task and upon self-renunciation labor day by day toward the painful victory of salvation.[8] Certain aspects of Calvinism would remain with Carlyle throughout his lifetime and manifest themselves in his later philosophical position. For example, the religious value of labor and the unquestionable existence of a power greater than ourselves are central to Carlyle's philosophical position.

Carlyle's mother, much in harmony with Scottish tradition, hoped to see her eldest son in the pulpit. The ministry was thought to be the

greatest and most prestigious career a young man could hope to achieve. In preparation for the ministry, Carlyle entered the University of Edinburgh in 1809. He was not quite fourteen years of age. He succeeded in satisfying the four year minimum residency requirement for theology but the independence and boldness of his maturing genius began to modify his religious convictions. An incompatibility with eccelesiastical discipline and with the rigid literalness with which he felt a minister was obliged to interpret Christian dogma developed. From this period in his late teens onward, Carlyle's religious beliefs tended toward a progressively more personal understanding of and union with God. The fundamental Calvinism of his youth, however, clearly left a lasting impression on his mind.

Like many aspiring ministers in Scotland, Carlyle subsidized his education by teaching. In the summer of 1814 he obtained the position of mathematics teacher at Annan Academy. In 1816 he accepted a similar position at Kirkcaldy which lasted two years. Carlyle occasionally earned small sums of money by giving private lessons and translating scientific pamphlets from French. His father had by this time taken over a farm at Mainhill, near Ecclefechan. Thus, Thomas was at least able to secure minimum monthly rations from his parents' domestic storehouse. After spending a very depressed and confused summer with his family at Mainhill farm, Carlyle returned to Edinburgh with the intention of undertaking a legal career. However, he quickly abandoned the study of law on the grounds "that it offered no amends for its miseries except its money."[9]

In late 1819 Carlyle's first literary efforts bore fruit. Dr. Brewster, on very frugal terms, offered him a position writing for the Edinburgh Encyclopedia. In total, Carlyle wrote sixteen articles for this encyclopedia commencing with an essay on Montesquieu and terminating with one on Pitt. These subjects appear to have been selected on the basis of alphabetizing, rather than by any apparent expertise on Carlyle's part. Cazamian suggests that these preliminary articles, all complete by 1822, merely represent the work of an able student and do not evidence any degree of creative thought. For the next few years Carlyle's literary endeavours centered around two main works. The Life of Schiller (1823) and the translation of Wilhelm Meister (1823). Neither of these works met with any significant degree of recognition or acceptance.[10]

From 1827 until the publication of The French Revolution: A History in 1837, all of Carlyle's writings appeared as articles in Review Journals. Carlyle's first such article was in the Edinburgh Review. It examined the work of Jean Paul Freidrich Richter a writer with whom Carlyle had much in common and who, in the opinion of Lammond, exercised a great deal of influence on him.[11] That same year, the Edinburgh Review published Carlyle's second article, "The State of German Literature." With the publication of these two articles Carlyle was gaining recognition as a reviewer of some significance. Carlyle's next contributions were to the newly established London Foreign Review. "The Life and Writings of Werner", two articles on Goethe, "The Life of Heyne" and "German Playwrights" were all published within the next two years. With the exception of a few articles

(i.e. "Burns" and "Voltaire"), Carlyle's early publications generally centered on the subject of German literature. It is through these early essays that the influence of German Idealism on Carlyle's solidifying personal philosophy is first discernible.

In "The State of German Literature" Carlyle suggests that the German poet is inspired by a "divine spirit". In this 1827 essay, Carlyle makes his first reference to Fichte's idealistic position, a view of reality which figures prominently in all of Carlyle's subsequent thought. In Carlyle's words,

> According to Fichte, there is a 'Divine Idea' pervading the visible universe; which visible universe is indeed but its symbol and sensible manifestation, having in itself no meaning, or even true existence independent of it. To the mass of men this Divine Idea of the world lies hidden: yet to discern it, to seize it, is the only condition of all genuine virtue, knowledge, freedom; and the end, therefore, of all spiritual effort in every age.[12]

The second general orientation of thought that can be identified from Carlyle's early essays is a definite social concern. Both published in the Edinburgh Review, "Signs of the Times" (1829) and Characteristics" (1831) represent Carlyle's first and, perhaps, most eloquent criticisms of contemporary English society. For Carlyle, Victorian England was in an age of transition, a period of decaying feudalism. The effects of the Industrial Revolution were changing the very foundations of England's social, political and economic arrangements. The feudal and agrarian order of the past was being replaced by an indusrial and democratic society. The emergence of democracy meant that power was moving from the hands of a few to the hands of the growing middle-class.[13]

Carlyle, in these two early political essays, isolates two general trends of his time, "the economic and social movement of the industrial revolution and the political and intellectual movement of utilitarian liberalism"[14], both of which he believed at base represent progress toward a singular doctrine of mechanism. He describes the age as "the Mechanical Age." "It is the Age of Machinery, in every outward and inward sense of that word."[15] Every aspect of society and the individuals which comprise it were becoming equivalent to mechanical apparatus. Thus, Carlyle uses metaphors such as "Religious machines", "mechanical metaphysics", "taxing-machines" and "machines for securing property". Indeed, for Carlyle, such a mechanical society was "sick and out of joint."[16]

In "Signs of the Times", Carlyle acknowledges that the feudal system is no longer able to accomodate the economic and social changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution. At the same time, he cannot accept the Benthamite Radical's proposed mechanical method of creating a new society.[17] He characterizes the contemporary spirit of his England: "Our true Deity is Mechanism. It has subdued external nature for us, and we think it will all other things."[18] "Characteristics" follows a similar, though philosophically more elaborate, line of thought. Carlyle accepts the ineffectiveness of a feudal arrangement. "The ancient methods of administration will no longer suffice."[19] He reiterates the evils of mechanism; "do we not see, in the common understanding of mankind, a certain distrust, a certain contempt of what is altogether self-conscious and mechanical?"[20]

In recognizing the degree of social, political and economic change which characterized the period in which these first political essays were

written, we realize that Carlyle was, in fact, responding to the social crises which he perceived in his immediate environment. It is the result of these combined influences, early Calvinist attitudes, German Idealism as well as the social climate in which he wrote, that gave rise to his next series of publications, Sartor Resartus.

In September of 1830, Carlyle began to write what for many critics was his literary masterpiece. On October 19th he wrote to his brother, Alexander; "What I am writing at is the strangest of all things. A very singular piece, I assure you. It glances from heaven to earth and back again, in a strange satirical frenzy, whether fine or not remains to be seen."[21]

Sartor Resartus ("The Tailor Patched") represents a torrential outburst of Carlyle's pent up anxieties. It is in many senses a spiritual autobiography. Carlyle sketches his childhood and unhappy educational experience. He introduces a man of considerable genius, Herr Diogenes Teufelsdröckh, whom the world has generally neglected. He outlines Teufelsdröckh's religious transformation from the "Everlasting No" (spiritual despair) to the "Everlasting Yea" (spiritual realization). The doctrines of his boyhood dissolve before Diogenes' maturing consciousness; he searches desperately for meaning but is unable to find it. He is overcome with terror when his search results in nothing. As he manages to overcome this doubt and terror, he asks himself:

> "What art thou afraid of? Wherefore, like a coward, dost thou forever pip and whimper, and go cowering and trembling? Despicable biped! what is the sum-total of the worst that lies before thee? Death? Well, Death; and say the pangs of Tophet too, and all that the Devil and Man may, will or can do against thee! Hast thou not a heart; canst thou not suffer whatsoever it be; and, as a Child of Freedom, though outcast, trample Tophet itself under thy feet, while it consumes thee? Let it come, then; I will meet it and defy it!" And as I so thought, there rushed like a stream of fire over my whole soul;

> and I shook base Fear away from me forever, I was strong, of unknown strength; a spirit, almost a god. Ever from that time, the temper of my misery was changed: not Fear or whining Sorrow was it, but Indignation and grim fire-eyed Defiance. 22

Though "grim fire-eyed Defiance" was a move forward, Carlyle suggests, through Teufelsdröckh, that it can never be an end in itself. Man must amount to more than mere defiance. He must come to realize his earthly duty; and the fulfilment of that duty to the "Uknown Diety." "On the roaring billows of Time, thou art not engulfed, but borne aloft into the azure of Eternity. Love not Pleasure; love God. This is the Everlasting Yea, wherein all contradition is solved: wherein whoso walks and works, it is well with him."[23]

Public acceptance of Sartor Resartus was slow in coming. Although it was completed in 1831, it was not published in England in book form until 1838.[24] Such was not the case with Carlyle's next major effort, The French Revolution: A History. Completed on the 12th of January, 1837, this book clearly established Carlyle's literary reputation.[25]

Carlyle had already published three essays on French literature: "Voltaire" in 1829 and "Diderot" and "Cagliostro" in 1833. In spite of that, he still could not truly appreciate or relate to the French perspective. Nothing, in his opinion, could be valid unless it was approached with a certain degree of earnestness,[26] an attitude which rendered German literature so much more appealing. Carlyle similarly objected to a mechanical view of nature and man; a concept which dominated French thought during that period. Although French philosophy was incompatible with Carlyle's personal religious beliefs, he none-the-less was intrigued by its history.

John Stuart Mill, whom by this time had become one of Carlyle's

very best friends, was himself considering writing a book on the revolution in France. He encouraged Carlyle to direct his attention to this worthwhile subject. As the months passed, Mill became convinced that Carlyle was the man who could best deal with the revolution and in total supplied him with one hundred and fifty books related to the subject. Carlyle began the actual writing of the book on the first of September, 1835. The first volume, completed in seven months, was given to Mill. One of Mill's servants accidentally used the manuscript to light the fireplace. Carlyle was understandably overcome with grief but soon forced himself to begin again. Within six months the burnt manuscript was rewritten.

"The French Revolution has been criticised as inaccurate, though Mr. Hilaire Belloc claims that Carlyle was the most accurate of historians."[27] His research appears to have been of the most superficial nature. But Carlyle's purpose in writing the book was not to precisely depict an historical event; rather, it was to use the event to illustrate an instance of God's vengeance. Carlyle warns,

> Above them they see no God; or they even do not look above, except with astronomical glasses. The Church indeed still is: but in the most submissive state; quite tamed by Philosophism; in a singular short time; for the hour has come...Our Church stands haltered, dumb, like a dumb ox; lowering only for provender (of tithes); content if it can have that; or, with dumb stupor, expecting its further doom...Foul Product of still fouler Corruption, thou with the corruption art doomed. 28

At the same time it appears that Carlyle was using the French Revolution to argue a need for social and political change in England. The following passage from The French Revolution: A History could easily be used to summarize the central message in Carlyle's first criticism of contemporary English society, "Signs of the Times".

> For all is wrong, and gone out of joint; the inward spiritual, and the outward economical; head or heart, there is no soundness in it. 29

For the next few years Carlyle concerned himself with several essays as well as three series of lectures, "German Literature", "The History of Literature" and "The Revolutions of Modern Europe". The essays generally revolved around his favorite themes of literature, history, reverence and great men. One of these later essays, when submitted to the Quarterly, was refused publication. Determined to have it printed, and by now of some literary power, Carlyle had it published in the form of a pamphlet bearing the title Chartism.

Although Carlyle called this pamphlet Chartism, it had very little to do with the Chartist movement. The Chartists were demanding six points; universal manhood suffrage, annual parliaments, vote by ballot, election to parliament without property qualifications, the payment of members of parliaments, and equalized political districts.[30] Carlyle could not agree that these points would actually solve the problems of England. As a result, he was not popular with the Chartists.[31] His real intention in Chartism was to expose the folly of the theory of laissez faire. He proclaims,

> Ah, it is not a joyful mirth, it is sadder than tears, the laugh Humanity is forced to, at laissez-faire applied to poor peasants, in a world like our Europe of the year 1839. [32]

For Carlyle, free competition and the law of supply and demand represented a "dismal science"; dismal because they resulted in unemployment which was contrary to God's plan for man on earth. This pamphlet once more demonstrates Carlyle's deeply ingrained Calvinist attitudes regarding the Divine Intention that man should labour while here on earth. Carlyle states,

> He that will not work according to his faculty, let him perish according to his necessity: there is no law juster than that. Would to Heaven one could preach it abroad into the hearts of all sons and daughters of Adam, for it is a law applicable to all; and bring it to bear, with practical obligations strict as the Poor-Law Bastille, on all! We had then, in good truth, a "perfect constitution of society"; and "God's fair Earth and Task-garden, where whosoever is not working must be begging or stealing", were then actually what always, through so many changes and struggles, it is endeavouring to become.[33]

For many years Carlyle had expressed a deep and burning sympathy for the poor and labouring classes. He had once even hoped to become editor of the radical London Review. According to Perry, Carlyle, who was neither Whig nor Tory and who apparently never cast a ballot in his life, found it impossible to work in harmony with political Radicalism.[34] His contempt and distrust of parliamentary radicalism only confirmed his opinion that the poor were devoid of possible sources of genuine guidance. For Carlyle, the solution to poverty could not be realized by any mere act of political reform.

> The matter of Chartism [he wrote] is weighty, deep-rooted, far extending; did not begin yesterday; will by no means end this day or tomorrow. Reform Ministry, constabulary rural police, new levy of soldiers, grants of money to Birmingham; all this is well, or is not well; all this will put down only the embodiment or 'chimera' of Chartism.[35]

Chartism, published anonymously, created quite a sensation. Many writers of the period had turned their pens to issues of poverty and the poor; but none from anything like Carlyle's perspective. No one group of individuals had the right to live off the efforts and labours of another. It was immoral that the rich should live in luxury while the poor barely subsisted. But equally wrong was the proposition that an able-bodied man should exist without earning his daily bread.

The discontentment of the lower classes, of which Chartism was merely a manifestation, was, at base, the result of ineffective government. What the poor really required and demanded was sound leadership. Carlyle employs a powerful metaphor to illustrate his point.

> Bellowing, inarticulate cries as of a dumb creature in rage and pain; to the ear of wisdom they are inarticulate prayers. "Guide me, govern me! I am mad and miserable and cannot govern myself!"[36]

The theme of Carlyle's next major publication was alluded to in Chartism, as indeed it was in many of his previous works. Carlyle reiterates,

> ...a man has his superiors, a regular hierarchy above him; extending up, degree above degree, to Heaven itself and God the Maker.[37]

On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History, published in 1841, was based on Carlyle's fourth and last series of lectures delivered the previous year. Carlyle outlined heroism in six different facets; hero a divinity, prophet, poet, priest, man of letters and king. Since the French Revolution, democracy was often associated with mob violence and property confiscation.[38] In this context, any suggestion of alternatives to democracy carried a strong appeal. Carlyle's remarks on Hero as king sounded particularly inviting in this chaotic, rebellious period. Carlyle claims,

> Disorder is dissolution, death... In these rebellious ages, when Kingship itself seems dead and abolished, Cromwell, Napolean step forth again as Kings.[39]

Carlyle's focus remained much the same as he began to research one of his personal heroes, Oliver Cromwell. Although Cromwell had generally been regarded as a traitor, Carlyle saw him as a noble, heroic man.[40] However, Carlyle found it exceedingly difficult,

almost impossible, to concentrate on Cromwell. There was something within him concerning the nineteenth century that still needed to be said. In hopes of finding the much needed inspiration he was lacking, Carlyle visited Cromwell's farm at St. Ives. But St. Ives showed more than Cromwell's farm; it confronted Carlyle, once again, with unemployment, poorhouses and paupers searching in vain for work. "In his Journal for the 25th of October he mentions that he has been reading Eadmer, and Jocelyn de Brakelonde's Chronicle, and been meditating on the old monk's life in St. Edmund's monastery."[41] Another book was taking shape in Carlyle's mind. The distress of the poor combined with his readings on monastic life resulted in his next literary endeavour. To his mother, early in January of 1843 he wrote:

> I am fast getting ready something for publication... Though it is not 'Cromwell' yet, it is something more immediately applicable to the times in hand.[42]

Written with a speed and ease which was unusual for Carlyle, Past and Present, published in April of 1843, met with immediate success. In Past and Present Carlyle returns to many of the issues raised in Chartism, particularly unemployment.

> Of...unsuccessful skillful workers some two millions, it is now counted, sit in Workhouses, Poor-law Prisons; or have 'out-door relief' flung over the wall to them ...In workhouses, pleasantly so named because work cannot be done in them.[43]

Carlyle draws a comparison between contemporary social realities and life at St. Edmund's monastery during the twelfth century. Under the good and wise leadership of Abbot Samson, the finances of the monastery are restored and the monks, who had lacked discipline under an aging predecessor, were brought under order once more by sound, healing government.

Out of Past and Present also comes "the new gospel of Labor."[44]

The essence of Book Three is that "all work, even cotton-spinning, is noble."[45] But workers alone will not suffice. A new type of industrial leader is necessary; not "the indomitable Plugson of the respected Firm of Plugson, Hunks and Company, in St. Dolly Undershot",[46] but real "Captains of Industry". The ideal of Abbot Samson as well as this concept of "Captains of Industry" represent yet a further advance on Carlyle's theory of the Hero. "The new gospel of Labor" is the final, perfected expression of Carlyle's persistent Calvinist attitudes.

Having said what he felt he must say about nineteenth century British society, Carlyle turned his attention back to Cromwell. Although he had once intended to write a history, Carlyle decided that for his purposes an annotated edition of Cromwell's letters and speeches would be sufficient. Published late in 1843, Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches with Elucidations met with immediate success, surprising both the author and the publisher. Beyond Carlyle's widest hopes, it soon appeared to be a significant historical event.[47] Carlyle's book represented the complete vindication of a man whom history had, for two hundred years, defined as a scoundrel. Cromwell's Letter and Speeches as well as The History of Fredrick, Called the Great (first published in 1858 with later editions in 1862, '64, and '65) appear mostly to represent Carlyle's application of his Hero Theory. It is the doctrine applied rather than any expansion of the doctrine. Neither of these major efforts really adds anything new to Carlyle's philosophical position. In the interval between Cromwell's Letters and Speeches and The History of Fredrick, Called the Great, Carlyle wrote his final opinion of contemporary English politics. The Latter-Day Pamphlets were published individually from February to April of 1850. In the first pamphlet,

"The Present Time", Carlyle once again makes a plea for a strong leader. He reiterates his lack of faith in democracy, referring to it as the inarticulate "voice of chaos."[48] For Carlyle, democracy was equivalent to anarchy. The second pamphlet was a protest against the sympathetic treatment of criminals. Society should seek revenge on its assailants. Carlyle could feel no compassion for the "miserable distorted blockheads... ape-faces, heavy sullen ox-faces; degraded underfoot perverse creatures, sons of indocility."[49]

About this time Carlyle was entertaining thoughts of a political career, and perhaps felt that the views he expressed in his Latter-Day Pamphlets would recommend him.[50] In his opinion, an elected parliament could never amount to sound government. Carlyle asks, "Will the ballot-box raise the Noblest to the chief place; does any sane man deliberately believe such a thing?"[51] The result of listening to England's "twenty seven millions mostly fools"[52] would certainly end in disaster for the country. These kinds of statements spawned an intense resentment; stifling whatever political aspirations Carlyle may have had. Democracy with its associate humanitarian appeal was rapidly becoming the popular philosophy of the time. Carlyle's attack on the basic premises of democracy not only alienated him from the general public, but also completely terminated his friendship with John Stuart Mill, one of the first apostles of liberty.

The publication of his next book, The Life of Sterling (1851), did much to restore Carlyle to public favor. It was the tender and touching biography of a man who had idealized Carlyle and to whom Carlyle was bonded in sincerest friendship. John Sterling was an ordained minister who had left the Church due to religious doubts. He

turned to literature and although he actually accomplished very little, his promise had been great. The Life of Sterling stands apart from Carlyle's other works; "a moment of calm amid a stormy voyage".[53]

For the next few years Carlyle searched for a suitable topic to write on. Although he was by this time in his late 50's, retirement for the creator of the gospel of labor was quite out of the question. He toyed with several ideas until in 1853 he embarked upon a history that would totally dominate his life for the next twelve years. He worked religiously which was his habit, and by the spring of 1858 had completed the first two volumes of The History of Fredrick, Call the Great; four other volumes followed, the last in March of 1865. A major portion of the six volumes is garrulous and irrelevant; revolving mostly around gossip and battles. Some of Carlyle's political opinions are repeated, though no new complaints or appeals are made.

The completion of Fredrick the Great found Carlyle entering the seventieth year of his life. He had been elected Lord Rector of Edinburgh University and although he considered most tributes worthless, returned to Edinburgh to accept it. On April 21, 1866, during his stay there, he received news of the death of his wife. Although their marriage had at times been stormy, Carlyle felt the loss of his wife intensely.

Carlyle withdrew into himself. He dwelt in the past by writing reminiscences of his life-long friends Reverend Edward Irving and Lord Francis Jeffrey. He could not help, however, commenting on the political situation one more time. By this time England was committed to the concept of majority vote. The aristocracy of talent that

Carlyle had once dreamed of was further off than ever.[54] Angered by what he considered a betrayal of governmental responsibility, Carlyle wrote "Shooting Niagara: and After?" It was published in 1867 as the second Reform Bill was being passed.

> Inexpressibly delirious seems to me, [he wrote] at present in my solitude, the puddle of Parliament and Public upon what it calls the "Reform Measure"; that is to say, The calling in of new supplies of block-headism, gullibility, bribeality, amenability to beer and balderdash, by way of amending the woes we have had from our previous supplies of that bad article.[55]

Carlyle again repeats that only a true governing aristocracy can hope to reinstate some semblance of spirituality and order; that is, of civilization. He declares, "Certain it is, there is nothing but vulgarity in our People's expectations, resolutions or desires, in this Epoch."[56] Carlyle seems to be admitting that the efforts of his entire lifetime had not made the least impression on his England.

Carlyle lived on for thirteen years as England steadily advanced toward a democratic society. Hero-worship, a nineteenth century phenomenom,[57] began to vanish as Darwinism and democracy progressed. Although Carlyle may have given up on mankind (by now entertaining the disgusting suggestion that man was distantly related to monkeys), the world showered him with money and honors. 20,000 shilling editions of Sartor Resartus had been sold. The People's Edition of his Collected Works circulated 50,000 copies. Translations of many of his books began to appear. Queen Victoria honored him with an audience in 1869. Because of his extensive effort on Fredrick the Great, Carlyle received the Prussian Order of Merit.

In January, a month before his death in 1881, his close friend

James Anthony Froude told him of the anarchy and murder which had seized Ireland since Gladstone's return to power. Carlyle only listened indifferently. When asked by Froude if these things did not interest him, Carlyle replied, "Not in the least."[58]

Carlyle's whole life was spent reacting to what he considered the deteriorating condition of England. Although his works were occasional works, and although critics have argued that no continuous thematic unity exists and, in fact, that in old age Carlyle lost touch with reality, it is clear from reading his works that here was a single mind committed to certain principles and truths which held independent of time and circumstance. It is possible to create or isolate what may be referred to as Carlyle's philosophy of God, man and society. To understand his philosophical position, one must recognize that Carlyle believed in the unquestionable existence of God. For Carlyle, however, God did not represent the generally held Christian concept of a Heavenly Father loving and forgiving his earthly flock. Let it suffice at this point to say that Carlyle understood the Divine as a Force or Power greater than man, of which the material world was merely a manifestation.[59] This is the central theme of the third book in Sartor Resartus which deals with Teufelsdröckh's philosophy of Clothes. For Carlyle's alter ego, Teufelsdröckh, every and all manifestations of the material world are merely symbols or garments which clothe a deeper reality. As the Professor of Things in General said;

> Nay further, art not thou too perhaps by this time made aware that all Symbols are properly Clothes; that all Forms whereby Spirit manifest itself to sense, whether outwardly or in the imagination, are clothes; and thus not only the parchment Magna Charta, which a Tailor was nigh cutting into measures, but the Pomp and Authority of Law, the sacredness of Majesty, and all inferior Worships (Worthships) are properly a Vesture and Raiment; and the Thirty-nine Articles themselves

> are articles of wearing apparel (for the Religious Idea)? [60]

Thus, Carlyle defines all man-made categories of thought and action as merely coverings of a deeper reality. Even time and space are illusions created by the mind to govern the material world. Teufelsdröckh continues,

> But deepest of all illusory Appearances...are your two grand fundamental world-enveloping Appearances, SPACE and TIME. These are spun and woven for us from Birth itself, to clothe our celestial ME for dwelling here, and yet to blind it,- lie all-embracing, as the universal canvas, or warp and woof, whereby all minor Illusions, in this Phantasm Existence, weave and paint themselves.[61]

For Carlyle, an essential Reality exists beyond the boundaries of any possible mind - created confines; a Reality which necessarily transcends religion, philosophy, social and political arrangements and, indeed, even time and space. We find numerous references to this Reality, this Absolute, this Ultimate, which we take to mean Carlyle's concept of a Divine Force or Power which exists simultaneously within and beyond the material world, scattered throughout almost all of his works. The following passages are typical examples. Carlyle says,

> Look thou, if thou have eyes or soul left, into this great shoreless Incomprehensible: in the heart of its tumultuous Appearance, Embroilments, and mad Time-vortexes, is there not, silent, eternal, an All-just, an All-beautiful; sole Reality and ultimate controlling Power of the whole? This is not a figure of speech; this is a fact.[62]

Even the seemingly ugly or injust contains some evidencing quality of this Reality. Carlyle writes,

> Manchester, with its cotton-fuzz, its smoke and dust, its tumult and contentious squalor, is hideous to thee? Think not so:a precious substance, beautiful as magic dreams, and yet no dream but a reality, lies hidden in that noisome wrappage...[63]

This Ultimate Reality then, much in keeping with German Idealism, is of a spiritual nature. Justice, for Carlyle, follows with a correspondence between spiritual law and material law. Law must represent "God's Universal Law" and justice will follow with man's obedience to that Law. Thus, the basic responsibility of government, would be to advance God's will "on Earth as it is in Heaven."[64] Leadership would ultimately represent "the true Souls' - Overseers",[65] concerned primarily with the spiritual quality of society. The problem becomes, not one of superficial reform bills, but one of ensuring that the material world expresses its Truth, its Ultimate Reality. This responsibility falls, consequently, not on the superficially eloquent "parliamentary bagpipes" which play tunes only to satisfy the people and guarantee its continuance,[66] but on those who possess a genuine understanding of and greater contact with the true spiritual Reality. For Carlyle, these more spiritual, more insightful individuals would be, recognized or not, Heroes.

It is thus that Carlyle advanced his theory of Hero-Worship. He maintains that intellectually and spiritually men are not created equal; that, in fact, a hierarchy of abilities and talents exists which enables only a few to give expression to the Truth. Assuming this to be the case, it follows that ability induces authority. A painter, inventor or scientist has authority in his field because he has a corresponding ability (i.e., insight into or recognition of the Truth) in that area. This is similarly true with government. However, this ceases to be the case if leadership is determined by majority vote. Carlyle claims,

> Democracy, which means despair of finding any Heroes to govern you, and contented putting up with the want of them, - alas, thou too, Mein Lieber, seest well how close it is of kin to Atheism, and other sad Isms: he who discovers no God whatever, how shall he discover Heroes, the visible Temples of God.[67]

In reverencing our Heroes, in making them our spiritual and thereby political leaders, we live in agreement with God's Universal Law. Obedience to true Heroic leadership is synonymous with obedience to God. It is through his Heroes that God manifests himself and his will here on earth. In worshiping our Heroes we worship God. For Carlyle, a Hero is a "man with the gift of method, of faithfulness and valour, all of which are of the basis of wisdom; who has insight into what is what, into what will follow out of what, the eye to see and the hand to do; who is fit to administer, to direct, and guidingly command." [68]

Essentially, the Hero's relationship to Reality or God differs in degree, intensity and quality from that of the ordinary man. Because of this unique awareness of and communion with the spiritual, Heroes are able to manifest the Divine in earthly matter. It is for this reason that Carlyle outlined in On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History the variety of ways in which a Hero expresses his spirituality (i.e. Hero as poet, man of letters, king, et cetera). Thus, the Hero brings God, that is to say the Ultimate, into the physical world. Great works of art, music or literature are material expressions of God. Historical leaders, who were just in Carlyle's eyes, were simply manifesting the Divine. Captains of Industry, Carlyle suggests, will result in the wise administration of an evolving industrial society and this again will represent a physical embodiment of the Absolute.

But the Hero is only one element of Carlyle's Hero-Theory. Of equal importance and reciprocally related to the Hero is the degree and quality of loyalty on the part of ordinary men.[69] It is the interplay and relationship between the Hero and the remainder of the population which determines the form the Hero will assume. The Hero, being a "Force of Nature",[70] sent by nature,[71] and possessing an essential quality of "original insight",[72] must dwell within the context of ordinary men. Functioning in various capacities and under various names, the Hero will perform specific practical services. For Carlyle, Great Men are "the modellers, patterns, and in a wider sense creators, of whatsoever the general mass of men contrive to do or to attain."[73] Of the ordinary men which the Hero must lead and teach, Carlyle outlines several necessary characteristics; faith, loyalty, reverence and admiration. These qualities must combine in the ordinary man and manifest themselves in "an obedience which knows no bounds."[74] Obedience and loyalty, for Carlyle, signify a truly mystical bond; "the divine relation...which in all times united a great man to other men."[75] The Hero will always rescue men from their idolatry, returning them to Reality and Truth. "Loyalty to the Hero is then Loyalty to the Eternal; it is more, it is acquiescence in the divine plan." [76]

For Carlyle, the Unfathomable, the Incomprehensible, that is to say the Spiritual, is the prime consideration. The extent of each individual's private as well as public relationship to and with God and his "visible temples", the Heroes, will determine the degree of spirituality within any given society. As Carlyle understood it, this degree of spiritual content will reflect itself in

the values, attitudes, institutions, philosophies and practices of each individual as well as society in general. Political, economic and social realities, therefore, are the direct reflection of the nature and extent of the existing Spiritual Reality within a social aggregate. Overt practices are the visible manifestations of the Godliness or Godlessness which existed within man and, consequently, within society.

Thus, for Carlyle, the fundamental responsibility of government must be first to attend to matters of the Spirit. If God, that is the Unfathomable, Incomprehensible Force or Power which exists as the Ultimate Truth and Reality, is reflected in economic, political and social practices, all will be in harmony with Divine Intention and, thereby, right and good. If, however, the spiritual foundation of society is not intact, all social practices will reflect that which is False, the opposite of Truth. It is for this reason that Carlyle promoted his Hero-Theory. Only genuine spiritual superiors can possibly advance Godliness or Truth.

At a time when atheism has become almost fashionable, it may be difficult to appreciate Carlyle's position. His later writings particularly have been labeled as fanatic preaching, devoid of any realistic suggestions of social reform. Fraser's Magazine in 1865, however, pointed out that Carlyle himself continually admitted that he was in no sense qualified to make specific suggestions and that, in fact, changes in the entire spirit of society and its institutions were necessary.[77]

The important thing that must be realized is that Carlyle was not really concerned with superficial modifications in social, political or economic practices. He was, in fact, concerned with a much more

profound and ultimately more significant issue. The personal efforts of his lifetime were directed at treating, not the symptoms of a diseased society, but the underlying cause of those symptoms. Carlyle attributed England's unhealthy condition to a collapse in society's spiritual foundation. Carlyle's Latter-Day Pamphlets abound with references to spirituality as the determining force in society. Pamphlet number VIII, "Jesuitism", addresses the issue directly. In that pamphlet Carlyle states,

> The Spiritual everywhere originates the Practical, models it, makes it: so that the saddest external condition of affairs, among men, is but evidence of a still sadder internal one...The saddest condition of human affairs,.. with its thousandfold outer miseries, is still but a symptom; all this points to a far sadder disease which lies invisible within.[78]

Carlyle's historicism is bound up in his view of the present. The roots of the present are planted in the past; just as the branches of the present extend into the future. Time, for Carlyle, is a continuum. The present developed from the past; the future will develop from the present.[79] To understand the character of the present, then, is to understand the character of the past. Similarly, to plan for the future is to plan for the present. Time is a construct; valuable as it may be and necessary to man as an agent of organization, it is, none-the-less, a delusion of sorts. In Sartor Resartus Carlyle asks,

> Is the Past annihilated...or only past; is the Future nonextant, or only future? Those mystic faculties of thine, Memory and Hope, already answer; already through those mystic avenues, thou the Earth-blinded summonest both Past and Future, and communest with them...The curtains of Yesterday drop down, the curtains of Tomorrow roll up; but Yesterday and Tomorrow both are.[80]

Carlyle recognized a direct relationship between past, present and future; essentially, they were synonomous; as concepts they each

simultaneously depended on and affected each other. In a letter to his good friend Ralph Waldo Emerson in 1842 Carlyle writes,

> "Be dammed!" It is the whole Past and the whole Future, this same cotton-spinning, dollar-hunting, canting and shrieking, very wretched generation of ours.[81]

In analysing Carlyle's concept of the world, then, we must necessarily first consider his view of the past. In keeping with his basic philosophical orientation, Carlyle does not supply us with an empirical account of the past. He was in no way concerned with providing an empirical, documented history of the Middle Ages. We do not find in his writings on the past lists of kings, how many bales of cotton were produced, statistics for marriages, births or deaths, the reason being, Carlyle did not consider this type of information particularly significant. His focus was essentially on "The Spirit of The Age."[82] Consequently, the following chapter will address the issue of what Carlyle percieved to be the Spirit or Spirituality of the past.

For Carlyle, political, social, economic and educational values, attitudes, practices and institutions reflect or express the spiritual condition of any aggregate. Thus, in analysing any society, significant terms must be spiritual terms. Carlyle did not view the mechanism or mechanical operation of separate parts as vital within themselves. For him, they merely represented a material indication of the level of Greatness, Truth or Spirit within that society. As Carlyle drops down "the curtains of Yesterday", he provides us with a spiritual history of the world that has passed.

FOOTNOTES

1. E. Neff, Carlyle, Russell and Russell, New York, 1932, p.p. 13-21 provides a very picturesque and pleasant description of the Scottish village, Ecclefechan.

2. For a detailed account of Carlyle's parents and grandparents refer to L. Cazamian, Carlyle, The MacMillan Company, New York, 1932, p.p. 14-20.

3. T. Carlyle, Reminiscences, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1881, p. 47. Hereafter referred to as Reminiscences.

4. The specific work "transition" has been employed by Matthew Arnold, Carlyle, Disraeli, John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, as well as many others, to describe the general spirit of that period.

5. For a more detailed description of all these economic and social changes see S. M. Eastman, West's Story of World Progress, Allyn and Bacon, New York, 1945, chapters IX and XIII.

6. Reminiscences, p. 16.

7. N. Young, Carlyle: His Rise and Fall, Duckworth, London, 1927, p.19.

8. For a more complete analysis of Calvinism in relation to Carlyle's moral formation see Chapter I in Cazamian.

9. R. Garnett, Life and Writings of Thomas Carlyle, The Walter Scott Publishing Co., London, p. 24.

10. Cazamian offers a possible explanation of the unsuccessfulness of these two works. He isolates an emphasis on mechanical correctness and diffidence in Carlyle's style. See pages 87-88.

11. D. Lammond, Carlyle, The Camelot Press, London, 1934, p. 46.

12. T. Carlyle, "The State of German Literature", Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. I, Chapman and Hall, London, 1887, p. 49.

13. Chapter I, "Character of the Age" in W. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind: 1830-1870, Yale University Press, London, 1957, provides a very good descriptive analysis of the main social and emotional repercussion of these changes.

14. Cazamian, p. 95.

15. T. Carlyle, "Signs of the Times", Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Volume II, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, p. 59. Hereafter referred to as "Signs of the Times".

16. Ibid., p. 81.

17. E. Neff, p. 105.

18. "Signs of the Times", p. 74.

19. T. Carlyle, "Characteristics", Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Volume III, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, p. 39, Hereafter referred to as "Characterisitics".

20. Ibid., p. 17.

21. Quoted in J. Froude, Thomas Carlyle: A History of the First Forty Years of His Life: 1785 - 1835, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1914, p. 133.

22. T. Carlyle, Sartor Resartus and Selected Prose,Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1970, p. 166. Hereafter referred to as Sartor Resartus.

23. Ibid., p. 185.

24. W. H. Wylie, Thomas Carlyle: The Man and His Books, Marshall Japp and Company, London, 1881, p. 135, states that this fact must always be regarded as one of the most curious and striking phenomena in the literary history of England.

25. Young, p. 135.

26. This attitude of earnestness is not unique to Carlyle. Houghton identifies it as a characteristic of the Victorian frame of mind. See Chapter 10, "Earnestness" pages 218 - 262.

27. Lammond, p. 72.

28. T. Carlyle, The French Revolution: A History, Volume I, Chapman and Hall Limited, London, 1885, page 33. Hereafter referred to as The French Revolution.

29. Ibid., p. 32.

30. B. Perry, Thomas Carlyle: How To Know Him, The Bobbs - Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1915, p.p. 163-4.

31. Lammond, p. 76.

32. T. Carlyle, "Chartism", Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Volume IV, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, p. 142. Hereafter referred to as "Chartism".

33. Ibid., p. 132.

34. Perry, p. 162.

35. "Chartism", p. 119.

36. Ibid., p. 157.

37. Ibid., p. 189.

38. Houghton, p. 329.

39. T. Carlyle, On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroes in History, Archibald MacMechan, (ed.), Genn and Company Boston, 1901, p. 234. Hereafter referred to as On Heroes and Hero Worship.

40. See Lammond, p.p. 82-83.

41. J. Froude, Thomas Carlyle: A History of His Life in London. 1834-1881, Vol. I, Longman, Green and Co., London, 1919, p.297.

42. Ibid., p. 305.

43. T. Carlyle, Past and Present, Richard D. Altick (ed.), Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1965, p.7. Hereafter referred to as Past and Present.

44. Perry, p. 189.

45. Past and Present, p. 155.

46. Ibid., p. 190. The names are symbolic. Disturbances in 1842 were called "Plug Plot Riots" because strikers forced the closing of factories by pulling the plugs of their boilers. A dolly was a machine used for cleaning textiles. The source of power in many factories was called an undershot wheel.

47. D. Wilson, Carlyle on Cromwell and Others: 1837-48, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., London, 1925. Chapter XXXI, "Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches", provides a more detailed discussion of Carlyle's vindication of Cromwell.

48. T. Carlyle, Latter-Day Pamphlets, Works, Volume V, Chapman and Hall, London, 1885, p. 6. Hereafter referred to as Latter-Day Pamphlets.

49. Ibid., p. 49.

50. See Lammond, p. 110.

51. Latter-Day Pamphlets. p. 20.

52. Ibid., p. 179.

53. Cazamian, p. 240.

54. See Neff, p. 255.

55. T. Carlyle,"Shooting Niagara; and After?", Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Volume V, Charles Scribner's Sons New York, p.9, Hereafter referred to as "Shooting Niagara; and After?"

56. Ibid., p. 19.

57. See Houghton for an interesting discussion of hero worship in the nineteenth century.

58. Froude, Thomas Carlyle: A History of His Life in London, p. 500.

59. Though modified, perhaps, by early Calvinist influence, Carlyle's concept of reality generally coincides with German transcendentalism. His early attraction to German literature and specifically his study of Johann Fichte and Immanual Kant lay behind his belief that beyond the physical there exists an ultimate reality. E. Flügel, Thomas Carlyle's Moral and Religious Development, M.L. Holbrook and Co., New York, 1891, provides a detailed analysis of Carlyle's concept of God.

60. Sartor Resartus, p. 246.

61. Ibid., p. 238.

62. Past and Present, p. 227.

63. "Chartism", p. 181.

64. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 120.

65. Ibid., p. 144.

66. Ibid., p. 165.

67. Past and Present, p.p. 214-15.

68. "Chartism", p. 147.

69. B. Lehman, Carlyle's Theory of the Hero: Its Sources, Development, History, and Influence on Carlyle's Work, Duke University Press, North Carolina, 1928. Chapter II, "Carlyle's Theory of the Hero", provides a good analysis and elaboration of this point.

70. On Heroes and Hero-Worship, p. 129.

71. Ibid., p. 89.

72. Ibid., p. 2.

73. Ibid., p.p. 1-2.

74. Ibid., p. 5.

75. Ibid., p. 2.

76. Lehman, p. 57.

77. "Mr.Carlyle", Fraser's Magazine, Vol. LXXII, Dec., 1865, p. 779.

78. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p.p. 255- 257.

79. This is yet another point of variance between Carlyle and Bentham. The Benthanites ignored the past as totally irrelevant to the present.

80. Sartor Resartus, p. 239.

81. The Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson: 1834-1872, Volume II, C. Norton (ed.), Chatto and Windus, London, 1883, p. 12.

82. In 1831, John Stuart Mill published a series of articles in The Examiner, January to May. The collection of these articles was edited by F. A. von Hayek, Chicago, 1942 and titled The Spirit of the Age after a specific article by that name. Mill identified the leading characteristic of that period to be transition. In an age of such acute change, both the spiritual and the temporal were devastated by modification.

CHAPTER III

THE PAST

> In those most benighted Feudal societies, full of mere tyrannous steel Barons, and totally destitute of Tenpound Franchises and Ballot-boxes, there did nevertheless authentically preach itself everywhere this grandest of gospels, without which no other gospel can avail us much, to all souls of men, "Awake, ye noble souls; here is a noble career for you!" I say, everywhere a road towards promotion, for human nobleness, lay wide open to all men.
> (Latter-Day Pamphlets)

Carlyle, like most Victorians, recognized the past, not as the seventeenth or even sixteenth century, but as the Middle Ages. From Carlyle's perspective, it was the departure from medieval arrangements such as Christian orthodoxy under church rule, civil government under the rule of king and nobility, clearly defined social ranks and the economic organization of village agriculture, which signified the beginning of the present.[1] Because Carlyle was never really concerned with empirically accurate history, his description of the past amounts essentially to a metaphorical narrative of the Middle Ages. Carlyle's concern was consistently with the spiritual quality of society. We see this clearly illustrated in his book The French Revolution: A History which has been criticised as historically inaccurate.[2] In writing The French Revolution, as with all his writings, Carlyle's focus was on the Ideal which rests beyond or within the Actual. The physical world is only an expression of the Spiritual and thus an illusion of sorts, secondary in significance.

In recreating the Middle Ages from a spiritual perspective Carlyle's facts are at times somewhat vague; at times, perhaps, even non-existent. For him, factual information is only relevant as it relates to or indicates the Divine within. Although he was well read and certainly qualified to provide factual history, the level at which he approached the Middle Ages cannot be labeled cognitive. The Divine, as Carlyle tells us continually in Sartor Resartus and else where, is Incomprehensible, Unfathomable. It cannot truly be understood intellectually. In providing a spiritual account of the Middle Ages, then, a cognitive, intellectual or academic approach would not be satisfactory; would not yield the sort of information necessary. Carlyle, as alien as it may be to our own academic perspective, arrives at the spirituality of the Middle Ages intuitively. His account of the Middle Ages is artistic; idealistic in a philosophical sense. He gives us an imaginative or hypothetical medieval situation in hopes of illuminating, not the facts of the Middle Ages, but the spirit contained therein. Carlyle's description of the Middle Ages is equivalent to an allegory or elaborate metaphor and must be appreciated as such. As any metaphor more vividly clarifies the writer's notions, so too does Carlyle's metaphor of the past clarify his concept of medieval spirituality.

In addressing the issue of medieval political leadership, Carlyle provides a detailed narrative account of a monk who exhibited the qualities of heroic leadership. In Book II of Past and Present, "The Ancient Monk", Carlyle describes an able man, Samson. "The Ancient Monk" was based on a recently published twelfth century manuscript, The Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda, in which a monk, Jocelin, narrates the life of Samson, first as a monk and then as Abbot of a monastery.

Working from this genuine historical document, Carlyle creates his account of life in a medieval monastery.

Carlyle begins this medieval story by describing the unhealthy condition of St. Edmund's Monastery under the administration of Abbot Hugo who had grown old and blind, listening to flattery while the monastery slipped into debt. On a pilgrimage to Canterbury Hugo meets an untimely end, leaving St. Edmund's without a Dominus Abbas. An election to select a successor is called. Carlyle eloquently expounds on the spiritual and social significance of a people's electoral method. He claims that,

> ...it is a most important social act; nay, at bottom, the one important social act. Given the men a People choose, the People itself, in its exact worth and worthlessness, is given. A heroic people choose heroes, and is happy; a valet or flunkey people chooses sham-heroes, what are called quacks, thinking them heroes, and is not happy. The grand summary of a man's spiritual condition, What brings out all his herohood and insight, or all his flunkeyhood and horn-eyed dimness, is this question put to him, what man dost thou honour? Which is thy ideal of a man; or nearest that?[3]

The Prior, acting as interim chief, chooses twelve monks whose purpose it is to select the new Abbot. But one monk, Brother Samson, has already distinguished himself. On Samson's advice a committee of six venerable elders is formed to write down the names of three men whom they feel are the fittest to rule the monastery. One monk remarks that Brother Samson "is ready oftenest with some question, some suggestion, that has wisdom in it."[4] These wise elders, with their hands on the Gospel, their eyes fixed on the shrine of St. Edmund, in secret and before God, make their decision. Carlyle comments,

> This then is the ballot-box and electoral winnowing-machine they have at St. Edmundsbury: a mind fixed on thrice Holy, and appeal to God on high to witness

> their meditation: by far the best and indeed the only good electoral winnowing - machine, - if men have souls in them.[5]

Brother Samson, amid much rejoicing, is announced to be the new Abbot. Carlyle clearly believed that in the twelfth century men were not only able to distinguish worth from non-worth but willing to give the worthy political authority and power. Samson was a hero, a man who knew how to govern because he knew how to obey. Carlyle's underlying message in this portion of his narrative appears to be the "historical fact" that men in the Middle Ages were capable of selecting the ablest man to rule. He concludes,

> Thus, then, have the St. Edmunsbury Monks, without express ballot-box or other good winnowing - machine, contrived to accomplish the most important feat a body of men can do, to winnow out the man that is to govern them: and truly one sees not that, by any winnowing - machine whatever, they could have done it better.[6]

In Abbot Samson, Carlyle illustrates what he perceives as the characteristics and personal qualities of ideal medieval leadership. The Abbot immediately sets about the true governing of the monastery. He improves conditions by increasing industry and thrift and in less than four years the monastery's debts are liquidated. Samson was just in all senses of the word. He showed no favor to his friends. He promoted only fit men; he loved his kindred but found none fit to promote. He did not forget benefits, but paid them at his own cost; not at the public expense of advancing "blockheads". Because his heart was pure and just, Samson's actions expressed a clearness of purpose and vision. Carlyle asks,

> How can a man without clear vision in his heart first of all, have any clear vision in his head? It is impossible! Abbot Samson was one of the justest of judges; insisted on understanding the case to the bottom, and then swiftly

decided without feud or favour.[7]

Carlyle characterizes Abbot Samson as possessing this "clear vision in his heart". Something of the Divine, some Greatness or nobility of soul was present in Samson. This was the essential quality which made him fit to rule. The outward details of his personality reflect his spirituality. He was reticent, for example, which Carlyle sees as an indication of Godliness. He was wise in a worldly sense; "for it is in the world that a man, devout or other, has his life to lead, his work waiting to be done."[8] The basis of his earthly existence was consistently and truly religion. All the world was a "mystic temple" to Abbot Samson, and its business a form of worship. His religion was unconscious; his worship like daily bread which he ate at intervals and spoke not of.

Abbot Samson executed a wide variety of renovations in the monastery. Among other things, the altar on top of St. Edmund's shrine was rebuilt. During construction, Abbot Samson was able to touch and speak to the bodily remains of his Patron which are housed within the shrine. Samson, with infinite reverence, experiences the highest moment of his earthly life. The narrative ends abruptly as Carlyle elaborates on the significance of this event in Abbot Samson's life. Even Samson, a hero himself, reverences a hero that has preceded him. For Carlyle,

> The manner of men's Hero-worship, verily it is the innermost fact of their existence, and determines all the rest, - at public hustings, in private drawing-rooms, in church, in market, and wherever else.[9]

What does this story of Abbot Samson tell us about Carlyle's view of the spirit of political relationships in medieval society? First, in past centuries men were more able to identify true

leadership. Second, and in relation to the first, men possessed a greater degree of reverence for heroes. This is illustrated by Abbot Samson's reverence for St. Edmund but also by the monk's respect, admiration and reverence for their visible hero, Abbot Samson. To identify and reverence heroes suggests the presence of a certain degree of fundamental spirituality.

Thirdly, in Carlyle's portrait of Abbot Samson we are given a good indication of the kind of spiritual leadership which Carlyle believed ideally to have existed in the Middle Ages. The nature of feudal society required a certain type of government. Samson exemplifies Carlyle's ideal type of medieval leadership. He was strong, silent and just; compassionate though firm. The leader Carlyle creates seems generally to be a parental character; guiding and governing benevolently. Feudal society, relatively speaking, was uncomplicated by science and technology. The population was smaller and more evenly distributed. Trade and industry were still basic and small-scale. Within this feudal context, a true spiritual leader amounted to a man with the Samson's characteristics of truth, justice, silence and strength; that is, "the eye to see and the hand to do."[10]

Without providing much factual detail, Carlyle suggests that Abbot Samson's system of government was simple and effective. Because he was a man of clear vision, Samson was able to quickly and effectively administer good government. In contrast to the large bureaucratic system which government had become, Carlyle is suggesting that by-gone systems of government were both simpler and more efficient.

"Parliaments", pamphlet VI of Carlyle's Latter-Day Pamphlets, deals mainly with the sorry state of England's present parliamentary

system. In examining contemporary British parliaments, however, Carlyle provides an impression of previous parliamentary methods. From "reading in Eadmerus and the dim old Books", Carlyle concludes that "Parliament was at first a most simple Assemblage, quite cognate to the situation."[11] The king would confer with his subordinate barons in a simple, unpretentious manner (devoid of Madame-Speakers, et cetera) about matters concerning the kingdom. In a very straight-forward conversation the king would inquire about the ideas and opinions of his "working sub-kings." Carlyle recognized this simple, basic parliament of the past as "an eminently human, veracious, and indispensable entity, achieving real work in the Centuries."[12]

Just as Abbot Samson possessed a "perfect veracity of purpose" and thus restored true religion and order, its physical expression, to St. Edmund's monastery, so parliaments of the past were similarly clear and honest in their function. They were formed and existed for the expressed purpose of wisely and simply attending to the guiding and governing of the kingdom. Carlyle points out,

> Supplies did, in some way, need to be granted; grievances, such as never fail, did in some way need to be stated and redressed. The silent Peoples had their Parliamentum; and spake by it to their Kings who governed them. In all human Government, wherever a man will attempt to govern men, this is a function necessary as the breath of life: and it must be said the old European Populations, and the fortunate Egnlish best of all, did the function well. The old Parliaments were authentic entities; came upon indispensable work; and were in earnest to their very finger-ends about getting it done.[13]

Carlyle reasoned that since the Actual is merely an expression of the Ideal, the spirituality or Divineness within medieval government must have been the cause of this honest and truthful fulfilment of governmental duties. The mechanical operations of medieval society reflected a true nobleness of spirit. Without elaborate ceremony,

chairpersons, deputies, secretaries and ministers of every conceivable department, medieval government satisfied the responsibilities of government within the feudal context. It provided for the people's outward needs while simultaneously offering a model of nobleness.

In terms of government and leadership, Carlyle believed that the political arrangements of the past were generally in harmony with Divine Intention. Men were guided by clear vision and a sufficient degree of spirituality allowed the recognition and reverence of heroes. Because purpose and direction were established, the execution of government was basic and satisfactory. Carlyle reaches a similar conclusion when he considers medieval social arrangements and relationships.

But before we can analyze the degree of Truth or Spirituality in medieval social arrangements, we must briefly review what Carlyle understood as the idea and function of society. In "Characteristics" Carlyle clearly expresses the significance of society as a human catalyst to self-actualization. He avers,

> It is in Society that man first feels what he is; first becomes what he can be. In Society an altogether new set of spiritual activities are evolved in him, and the old immeasurably quicker and strengthened. Society is the genial element wherein his nature first lives and grows; the solitary man were but a small portion of himself, and must continue forever folded in, stunted and only half alive.[14]

Still, for Carlyle, society was much more than an individual's relationship to himself and his fellow man. Carlyle viewed society as organic rather than atomistic. For him, society must be more than the collection of many individuals. It is alive and growing with each individual related to and dependent upon every and all other individuals. It is the "vital articulation of many individuals into a new collective

individual."[15] It is the "standing wonder" of human existence; a "mystical union", God's "highest work with man". For Carlyle, it followed that "every Society, every Polity, has a spiritual principle, is the embodiment, tentative and more or less, of an Idea."[16]

In considering the past, Carlyle concluded that society in those by-gone ages was good because it possessed and was animated by a clear social Idea. In ancient times men were united by intense devotion to a king and a kingdom. The Divine Idea of obedience and loyalty inspired all men. Carlyle disagreed with historians who suggested that the Middle Ages were "all one mass of contradiction and disease" and that "the antique Republic or feudal Monarchy" was only a "confused chaotic quarry."[17] The unifying Divine Idea of reverence and obedience to the king, the people's hero, resulted in a wholeness in all senses of the word. Carlyle suggested that in the past,

> The individual man was in himself a whole, or complete union; and could combine with his fellows as the living member of a greater whole. For all men, through their life, were animated by one great Idea; thus all efforts pointed one way, everywhere there was wholeness. Opinion and Action had not yet become disunited; but the former could still produce the latter, or attempt to produce it; as the stamp does its impression while the wax is not hardened.[18]

Social ranking, then, becomes not only a tolerable arrangement but a just and Godly one. The king or hero was, as Carlyle felt most kings of past ages were, a direct worldly instance of, or earthly link with, the Supreme Power. The barons and other lesser nobility represented a cable or line between the mass of the population and the king. Mankind, as Carlyle conceived it, was the composition of a definite hierarchy, "extending up, degree above degree, to Heaven itself and God the Maker."[19] What could be more just than a system in which

those on top, closer to God, guided and governed those below, further away from, or less in touch with, God? In medieval British society Carlyle found this to be the case with the reciprocal relationship simultaneously existing. Those on the bottom of the spiritual hierarchy turned in trust and loyal obedience to those of higher rank for leadership.

The type of social ordering which Carlyle envisioned existed in the past was not saturated with negative connotations as it is in contemporary society. All ranks co-existed in harmony of purpose and compatibility of function. The feudal aristocracy governed, guided and protected, while the lower orders obeyed, reverenced and provided for all. Carlyle's concept of this perfectly just, harmonious and symbiotic relationship is exactly expressed in a passage from "Chartism". He states that,

> ...the old Aristocracy were the governs of the Lower Classes, the guides of the Lower Classes; and even, at bottom, that they existed as an Aristocracy because they were found adequate for that. Not by Charity-Balls and Soup-Kitchens; not so; far otherwise! But it was their happiness that, in struggling for their own objects, they had to govern the Lower Classes, even in this sense of governing. For, in one word, Cash Payment had not then grown to be the universal sole nexus of man to man; it was something other than money that the higher then expected from the low. Not as buyer and seller alone, of land or what else it might be, but in many senses still as soldier and captain, as clansman and head, as loyal subject and guiding king, was the low related to the high.[20]

This higher or upper class to which Carlyle refers is generally the noble by birth. According to Carlyle, the king and subsidiary royalty were sent by God to govern and guide the masses of society which were unable and unqualified in terms of spiritual quality and content to govern themselves. For Carlyle, this was "most salutary to all high and low interest: a truly human arrangement."[21] If, however, it ever happened that the nobility lost its fitness to

govern, the masses of men would no longer tolerate them. A clear indication of the fallibility of aristocracy is provided in Carlyle's analysis of the French Revolution. In The French Revolution: A History Carlyle describes the failure of king and nobles to satisfy the responsibility of leadership.

> The world's Practical Guidance too is lost..Who is it that the King...now guides? His own huntsmen and prickers: when there is to be no hunt, it is well said, 'Le Roi ne fera rien' (To-day his Majesty will do nothing). He lives and lingers there, because he is living there, and none has yet laid hands on him. The nobles, in like manner, have nearly ceased either to guide or misguide; and are now, as their master is, little more than ornamental figures.[22]

It is for this reason, this lack of fulfilment of a sacred duty, that the masses revolted against the French aristocracy. If the masses are not satisfied with the elite, their overthrow of that elite is not only acceptable, it is inevitable. In Latter-Day Pamphlets Carlyle reiterates this refusal of men in the past to accept incompetent government.

> Time was when an incompetent Governor could not be permitted among men. He was, and had to be, by one method or another, clutched up from his place at the helm of affairs, and hurled down into the hold, perhaps even overboard, if he could not really steer. And we call those Ages barbarous, because they shuddered to see a Phantasm at the helm of their affairs; an eyeless Pilot with constitutional spectacles, steering by the ear mainly? [23]

For Carlyle, absolute rule, whether aristocratic or otherwise, is only justified if it is fit. This formula was applied in ancient British society. It signified a degree of Godliness on the part of the lower classes because they were able to detect sham-heroes and able, also, to dispose of them accordingly.

Apart from this general spiritual quality among the lower classes, Carlyle believed that specific instances of Godliness could be found in

any, even the lowest, class of society.[24] In the past, in those "most benighted Feudal societies;" men actively searched for spiritual talent and thus made available an avenue of recognition for every "gifted, intelligent and nobly aspiring soul...in whatever rank of life it were born. In the lowest stratum of social thraldom, nowhere was the noble soul doomed quite to choke, and die ignobly."[25] The church, then a vital, living and Godly institution, was the pathway for all true nobleness of spirit. The church did not ask questions about "birth, geneology, quantity of money, capital or the like". The only question it asked was, "Is there some human nobleness in you, or is there not?" Even the "poor neatherd's son", if he were sufficiently noble of nature, might rise to High-priesthood. Carlyle continues,

> How, like an immense mine-shaft through the dim oppressed strata of society, this Institution of Priesthood ran; opening, from the lowest depths towards all heights and towards Heaven itself, a free road of egress and emergence towards virtuous nobleness, heroism and well-doing, for every born man. This we may call the living lungs and blood-circulation of those old Feudalisms. When I think of that immeasurable all-pervading lungs; present in every corner of human society, every meanest hut a cell of said lungs; inviting whatsoever noble pious soul was born there to the path that was noble for him; and leading thereby sometimes, if he were worthy, to be the Papa of Christendom, and Commander of all Kings, - I perceive how the old Christian society continued healthy, vital, and was strong and heroic.[26]

Beyond guiding and governing, both physically and spiritually, the aristocracy in medieval British society was responsible for all economic considerations. The nobility owned all land and was responsible for the serfs who worked upon it. They were similarly responsible for the distribution or allocation of all resources and goods. Since they were closer to God and more in tune with His Intention for mankind, Carlyle viewed this as a just and Divine arrangement. In the Middle Ages,

all land, materials and resources were, in a sense, held in trust for the king. The king ultimately owned everything. The feudal king, since he represented God's earthly agent, was the individual who could best care for all the property and goods which God had provided for mankind. But just as all ownership was a form of holding in trust for the king, the king's ownership was a form of holding in trust for God. For Carlyle, this was a fact; it was just and according to God's Plan.

From our contemporary perspective, this feudal concept of ownership, that is, the king holding everything is trust for God, seems unjust because it does not allow for each individual man's right to eventually or possibly own what he works for. For Carlyle, however, individual rights or liberties had nothing to do with freedom to own land or resources; for that matter, individual freedom had nothing at all to do with personal liberty. Freedom, as Carlyle defined it, meant only the freedom to do what was right; thus, no one was free to do what was wrong. According to Carlyle, liberty means the liberty to work at that which God has called you to labour at. Since not all men are able to ascertain what is right, what God has planned for them, they must be guided. In Past and Present Carlyle contemplates this concept of personal rights and freedom. He says,

> Liberty? The true liberty of a man, you would say, consisted in his finding out, or being forced to find out the right path, and to walk thereon. To learn, or to be taught, what work he actually was able for; and then, by permission, persuasion, and even compulsion, to set about doing of the same! This is his true blessedness, honour, 'liberty' and maximum of wellbeing: if liberty be not that, I for one have small care about liberty.[27]

Thus, for each individual a certain moral obligation to God as well as to every other member of society exists. Carlyle suggested

that "liberty requires new definitions." No one has the personal right or freedom to act contrary to God's Plan. It was God who designated the feudal aristocracy to guide, govern and care for the lower social ranks. The aristocracy was morally, socially and spiritually obligated to see that the lower classes were adequately maintained.

Carlyle wrote within the context of the Industrial Revolution. Social problems such as unemployment and inadequate food and housing, the result of thousands of people migrating to major industrial centers, the intense. From this perspective, the peaceful and relatively secure existence of the feudal serfs seemed idyllic and desirable. The serfs were at least as well cared for as their master's livestock.[28] Carlyle was not aware of any instances in medieval society when serfs were unable to find work or sat about idly unable to feed themselves. In those ages all men toiled, as is God's Plan, and all men ate, which God has similarly intended. Unemployment and starvation are contrary to Divine Intention and in Carlyle's view neither of these contemporary social problems were apparent in medieval society.

In the Middle Ages all gentry were landed. The aristocracy, and only the aristocracy, owned property; although they ultimately only owned it in the sense of holding it in trust for the king or God. Carlyle calls this a Law of Nature, "this same Law of Feudalism; - no right aristocarcy but a Land one!"[29] In possessing part of God's earth, the higher classes were obligated to fulfill certain Supremely ordained functions. The feudal aristocracy was responsible for all the "Soldiering and Police of the country, all the Judging, Law-making, even the Church-Extension; whatsoever in the way of Governing, of Guiding and Protecting could be done."[30] By owning or controlling all means of protection and subsequently being responsible

for the distribution of all resources, the aristocracy was liable to God for the spiritual and economic care of the lower classes. In Past and Present Carlyle addresses the aristocracy;

> I say, you did not make the Land of England; and, by the possession of it, you are bound to furnish guidance and governance to England! That is the law of your position on this God's - Earth; an everlasing act of Heaven's Parliament, not repealable in St. Stephen's or elsewhere![31]

Carlyle believed that the relationship between the aristocracy and the lower orders in the Middle Ages, because it existed in harmony with Divine Intention, contained something of an essential, fundamental spirituality. The aristocracy did not govern because they were paid to; rather, they governed because they recognized this as their supremely ordained function. Good government, Carlyle suggests, is not possible unless this Divine responibility is felt within the hearts of the leaders. It is impossible to obtain true leadership in exchange for wages. Carlyle claims;

> The Land, by mere hired Governors, cannot be governed. You cannot hire men to govern the Land: it is by a mission not contracted for in the Stock-Exchange, but felt in their own hearts as coming out of Heaven, that men can govern a Land. The mission of a Land Aristocracy is a sacred one, in both the senses of that old word.[32]

For Carlyle, the relationship between governor and governed in the Middle Ages did not revolve around a cash nexus. The entire concept of cash and wages, in fact, is a relatively contemporary innovation; a development which Carlyle recognised as a deviation from Divine Intention. A man must do that which God has selected him to do, not because he will receive cash for his services, but because he feels within his own heart that such is his sacred duty to God and mankind. In medieval society, because cash exchange was less apparent, Carlyle

believed that men related to each other and their particular function at a higher level. Consequently, a different quality of life and a higher expression of culture existed.

The aristocracy approached and exercised their governing duties with a consciousness of God and His Intention. Similarly, the craftsman and artisan exercised their specific forms of labour for reasons other than mere wages. Carlyle believe that the beautiful workmanship of the Middle Ages was an earthly expression of God. As opposed to the factory system of mass production which the Industrial Revolution was popularizing, the quality craftsmanship of a handmade piece of furniture or beautifully fashioned candlestick was Divine. The quality of production in medieval society reflected the quality of spirituality. Carlyle points out that in ancient times what man produced was superior and lasting.

> Etruscan Pottery (baked clay, but rightly baked) is some 3000 years of age, and still fresh as an infant. Nothing I know of is more lasting than a well-made brick;- we have them here, at the head of this Garden (wall once of a Manor Park), which are in their third or fourth century (Henry Eighth's time, I was told), are still perfect in every particular.[33]

In relation to the impersonal mass production of contemporary industrial society, Carlyle viewed the ancient methods of slow, meticulous manual labour as superior. Since work is a form of worship, the quality and care that a man puts into his work reflects his relationship to God. Carlyle stated that "all true Work is sacred; in all true Work, were it but true hand-labour, there is something of divineness."[34] In medieval society, a goldsmith did not produce a candlestick for the sole reason of collecting his wages. He took pride in his work and the quality of the finished product was his primary reward. The craftsman

or artisan approached his task with a certain degree of personal pride and honour. Carlyle makes reference to this necessary aspect of labour in his last essay "Shooting Niagara: and After?" He suggests that,

> The glory of a workman, still more of a master-workman, That he does his work well, ought to be his most precious possession; like "the honour of a soldier", dearer to him than life.[35]

It is interesting to note that before industrialism a distinction between artisan and artist was not made. A potter and a sculptor were seen as equivalent professions. Pottery and sculpture were both done by hand, both required specific skills and talents and both resulted in the creation or construction of an object. The relationship a potter had to his clay was the same as the relationship a sculptor had to his marble,- the medium through which their labour expressed that which was in them - their innate spirituality. Thus,what the artisan or artist produced reflected his Greatness. In this sense, personal creativity was apparent in medieval society. A vase was not manufactured, it was created.

An important aspect of the medieval artisan and craftsman was the manner in which he learned and developed his skills, habits of industry and attitudes towards his labour. What form did feudal education take? How was it possible to produce artists rather than paid labourers? How was medieval society's innate spirituality transmitted to the young? Carlyle finds answers to these questions in the medieval practice of apprenticeship. He recognized the method of practical apprenticeship as the primary means of education in feudal society.[36] Carlyle claimed that,

> In those healthy times, guided by silent instincts and the monition of Nature, men had from of old been used to

> teaching themselves what it was essential to learn, by the one sure method of learning anything, practical apprenticeship... The Working Man as yet sought only to know his craft; and educate himself sufficiently by ploughing and hammering, under the conditions given, and in fit relation to the person given: a course of education, then, as now and ever, really opulent in manful culture and instruction to him; teaching him many solid virtues, and most indubitably useful knowledges; developing in him valuable faculties not a few both to do and to endure...[37]

The monasteries and convents were educational institutions of a sort. But even within that institutional context practical apprenticeship was the dominant educational methodology. Instruction was not formalized, mechanical and depersonalized; it revolved around personal example. The monks and brothers learned obedience, pious reverence, self-restraint and annihilation of self by witnessing it and being guided towards it by teachers who modeled nobleness. Carlyle continues,

> ...the Priest also trained himself by apprenticeship, by actual attempt to practice, by manifold long-continued trial, of a devout and painful nature, such as his superiors prescribed to him.[38]

Carlyle also observed that a system of apprenticeship was the means by which aristocracy in the Middle Ages educated and trained their young. Carlyle states,

> The young Noble again...had from immemorial time been used to learn his business by apprenticeship. The young Noble...went apprentice to some elder noble; entered himself as page with some distinguished earl or duke; and here, serving upwards from step to step, under wise monition, learned his chivalries, his practice of arms and of courtesies, his baronial duties and manners, and what it would beseem him to do and to be in the world,- by practical attempt of his own, and example of one whose life was a daily concrete pattern for him.[39]

The system of apprenticeship which Carlyle believed existed in the Middle Ages did much more than merely transmit the physical or

outward skills of any trade or profession. Medieval education under this methodology passed on an entire culture and all the subtle knowledge and habits that the apprentice would eventually need. Carlyle felt that this system of education contained elements of the Divine. It transmitted the skills, habits, language and customs of each occupation; everything the apprentice would require to satisfy the social and spiritual demands of his trade or business. Harmony was the consequence. The young were content. The machinery of society ran smoothly. The Divine was made manifest.

Because the elder noble, priest or artisan was not paid, as such, for the education they provided, the relationship between teacher and taught was at a spiritual level. Just as Carlyle believed that governing cannot be hired for wages, he similarly believed that true teaching cannot be bought. A man teaches his skills because he intuitively recognizes the social necessity of his trade and also for the satisfaction of assisting a fellow human being in finding and properly executing his earthly duty. The rewards for teaching are not material but spiritual. Carlyle believed that these spiritual rewards and reasons for teaching existed in the feudal apprenticeship system of education.

In examining the spiritual quality of medieval British institutions, practices and arrangements, Carlyle found evidence of harmony, reverence and Godliness. In those ancient times the political leadership of the aristocracy was just. Social stratification harmonized with Divine Intention; the upper classes governed, guided and protected the lower working classes. God had given all property to the aristocracy in exchange for the proper administration of it. The serfs toiled upon

the land and in return were physically and spiritually cared for by the aristocracy. All men approached their occupations with a degree of reverence. From governing to building and gardening, all work was considered necessary and noble. Medieval society did not revolve around cash and wages. People worked for more noble reasons. The simple, though effective, system of apprenticeship was used to educate and prepare the young for functions they would eventually fulfil. England was "once a land of Heroes."[40]

Carlyle acknowledged that in the past political, social and economic difficulties did arise; but these were only diseases of the skin; the heart of society still beat strong and healthy. Essentially, all social institutes, practices, values and attitudes contained something noble, something which was Divine.

Carlyle admitted, at the same time, that change and growth are inevitable. "All things wax, and roll onwards; Arts, Establishments, Opinions, nothing is complete, but ever completing."[41] Thus he was in no way suggesting that the ideal harmony of the Middle Ages could continue on forever. God had not prescribed a state of eternal stagnation, a condition of changelessness for mankind or the societies he formed. Individuals and the social organisms they form must always change, grow, develop and evolve.

Real progress, however, can only occur if elements of the Ideal remain and multiply within the Actual. Material advancement or progress without a corresponding spiritual development will result in an unhealthy condition, disastrous for mankind and society. Carlyle reckoned that such was the case with British society. As England advanced technologically and scientifically, it did not experience

corresponding progress in the spiritual realm.

Carlyle's main purpose in life was not to describe the spirituality of medieval social practices and arrangements. His account of the past was only relevant as it related to or became the present. All writings, including writings dealing with the past, were concerned with commenting on the present. The force which drove Carlyle was the lack of spirituality which he recognized as characteristic of his age. His purpose in writing was to awaken in his countrymen a recognition of the type of negative change which had and was continuing to occur.

FOOTNOTES

1. W. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind: 1830-1870, Yale University Press, London, 1957, p.p. 1-2 provides a more elaborate discussion of this Victorian concept of the past.

2. D. Lammond, Carlyle, Duckworth, London, 1934, p.p. 72-73.

3. T. Carlyle, Past and Present, Richard D Altick (ed.), Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1965, p. 80. Hereafter referred to as Past and Present.

4. Ibid., p. 81.

5. Ibid., p. 82.

6. Ibid., p. 86.

7. Ibid., p. 100.

8. Ibid., p. 118.

9. Ibid., p. 125.

10. T. Carlyle, "Chartism", Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Volume IV, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, p. 147. Hereafter referred to as "Chartism".

11. T. Carlyle, Latter-Day Pamphlets, Works, Volume V, Chapman and Hall, London, 1885, p. 187. Hereafter referred to as Latter-Day Pamphlets.

12. Ibid., p. 188.

13. Ibid., p. 189.

14. T. Carlyle, "Characteristics", Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Volume III, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, p. 10. Hereafter referred to as "Characteristics".

15. Ibid., p. 12.

16. Ibid., p.p. 13-14.

17. Ibid., p. 15.

18. Ibid.

19. "Chartism", p. 189.

20. Ibid., p. 162.

21. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 115.

22. T. Carlyle, The French Revolution: A History, Volume I, Chapman and Hall Limited, London, 1885, p. 12.

23. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 107.

24. Ibid., p. 114.

25. Ibid., p. 115.

26. Ibid., p.p. 115-116.

27. Past and Present, p.p. 211-212.

28. J. A. Froude, Thomas Carlyle: A History of His Life in London: 1834-1881, Volume I, Longman's Green and Co. London, 1919. Pages 306 to 308 provide an elaboration of this point. Froude explains, "Under free contract he [the serf] remained the slave of nature, which would kill him if he could not feed himself; he was as much as ever forced to work under the whip of hunger."

29. Past and Present. p. 244.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid., p. 178. Until it burned in 1834, St. Stephen's Chapel in Westminster was the seat of the House of Commons. The name continued to be applied to Commons.

32. Ibid., p. 245.

33. T. Carlyle, "Shooting Niagara: and After?", Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Volume V, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, p. 33. Hereafter referred to as "Shooting Niagara: and After?"

34. Past and Present, p. 202.

35. "Shooting Niagara: and After?", p. 35.

36. Craftsman's guilds did exist in medieval society as an organized form of apprenticeship.

37. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 153.

38. Ibid., p.p. 153-154.

39. Ibid., p. 154.

40. Ibid., p. 95.

41. T. Carlyle, Sartor Resartus and Selected Prose, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1970, p. 228.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRESENT

> The truth is, dear Reader, nowhere, to an impartial observant person, does the deep-sunk condition of the English mind, in these sad epochs; and how, in all spiritual and moral provinces, it has long quitted company with fact, and ceased to have veracity of heart, and clearness or sincerity of purpose, in regard to such matters...(Latter-Day Pamphlets)

In Sartor Resartus Carlyle suggests that the unspiritual, ungodly condition of contemporary British society is, in some respects, a stage in the over-all greater scheme of things.

> As in long-drawn systole and long-drawn diastole, must the period of Faith alternate with the period of Denial; must the vernal growth, the summer luxuriance of all Opinions, Spiritual Representations and Creations, be followed by, and again follow, the autumnal decay, the winter dissolution.[1]

Current British society, according to Carlyle, had gone beyond the "autumnal decay" and now convulsed in "winter dissolution". His prime concern was not really with the "summer luxuriance" of Medieval England but rather with the present spiritually icy situation and, to a large extent, the hope of a spring yet to come. Although he may have viewed the present situation as a season in the development of mankind, he, nonetheless, found it spiritually depressed. Of all contemporary spiritually unhealthy practices, Carlyle viewed present political arrangements and policies as among the most desolate.

As Abbot Hugo of St. Edmund's monastery had grown old and blind,

so too had medieval arrangements and institutions outgrown their usefulness. Advances in every area of science and technology were rapidly transforming the character of British society and Medieval political arrangements could no longer satisfy the spiritual requirements of an industrial aggregate. Indeed, economic changes had meant that completely new governmental considerations and responsibilities were necessary. In "Characteristics" Carlyle states,

> The new omnipotence of the Steam-engine is hewing asunder quite other mountains than the physical. Have not our economical distresses, those barnyard Conflagrations themselves, the frightfulest madness of our mad epoch, their rise also in what is a real increase: increase of Men; of human Force; properly, in such a Planet as ours, the most precious of all increases? It is true again, the ancient methods of administration will no longer suffice.[2]

Rather than reverently seek out spiritual leadership competent to rule an industrial society, the British people had chosen the fashionable but false ideology of Democracy. Carlyle believed that the fundamental problem with democracy lay in its selection of leadership. For him, society was organic. Impulses from the whole body must be translated and directed by the head; that is to say, by those men in society who, being consciously aware of Truth, are best qualified to act as the brain of the social body.[3] Democracy, assuming all men are equal and granting all men a certain liberty to act as they please, to select their own leaders and to form governmental policy, leaves society without proper guidance. The end result of democracy, according to Carlyle, is a social body without a governing brain; each finger and toe acting in self-interest, functioning freely for its own sake, independent of the body.

Carlyle frequently refers to democracy as anarchy.[4] In

Past and Present he goes as far as to refer to it as "atheism". The basic philosophical premise of democracy contradicted Carlyle's understanding of man. For Carlyle, men are definitely not created equal. Heroes do exist. If society falters in its recognition of God, how can Heroes, God's earthly agents, be acknowledged. Carlyle claims,

> Democracy, which means despair of finding any Heroes to govern you, and contented putting up with the want of them,- alas, thou too, mein Lieber, seest well how close it is of kin to Atheism, and other sad Isms: he who discovers no God whatever, how shall he discover Heroes, the visible Temples of God?[5]

Carlyle believed that Nature, that is, God, had designed a genuine, heroic aristocracy to rule and guide the mass of the population. God would and had always provided mankind with an aristocracy of Heroes to govern. The descendents of these Heroes, when they degenerate and cease to provide leadership, would be cast out by French Revolutions, et cetera. In this respect, Carlyle approved of democratic movements which accomplish the necessary feat of removing leaders who were no longer fit to lead. Carlyle continues,

> The Toiling Millions of Mankind, in most vital need and passionate instinctive desire of Guidance, shall cast away False-Guidance; and hope, for an hour, that no-Guidance will suffice them: but it can be for an hour only...Let him shake off such oppression, trample it indignantly under his feet; I blame him not, I pity and commend him. But oppression by your Mock-Superiors well shaken off, the grand problem yet remains to solve: That of finding government by your Real-Superiors![6]

Democracy may have succeeded in removing incompetent leadership but a system of ballot-boxing, according to Carlyle, in which each man has an equal say, will never succeed in finding true leadership. Carlyle referred to the British population of his day as "twenty seven millions mostly fools".[7] What possible good could come from giving

each of these fools a vote? Carlyle questions, "Will the ballot-box raise the Noblest to the chief place; does any sane man deliberately believe such a thing?"[8]

In examining England's contemporary political situation, Carlyle found democracy to be apparent everywhere. Since he believed society was composed of "foolish, slavish, wicked, insincere persons",[9] the very concept of universal suffrage was absurd. He warns,

> Your Lordship, there are fools, cowards, knaves, and gluttonous traitors true only to their own appetites, in immense majority, in every rank of life; and there is nothing frightfuler than to see these voting and deciding! [10]

Carlyle believed, in fact, that universal suffrage was debasing the political leadership and electoral methods of England. Because twenty seven million fools had the right to vote, individuals rose to power through trickery which fools easily fall prey to. In contrast to the reticent, thoughtful Abbot Samson of the Middle Ages, Carlyle characterized politicians of contemporary Britain as "parliamentary bagpipes".[11] Fools can easily be persuaded by words and thus political leadership was evaluated and elevated to power on the basis of eloquent speech.

Pamphlet number V of Carlyle's Latter-Day Pamphlets, "Stump-Orator", deals with this physical manifestation of a deteriorating spiritual conditon in political leaders as well as in the general population. True nobleness of soul is silent; doing and thinking rather than talking. The British people had become obsessed with talking, which in Carlyle's mind represented a deviation from Nature's hierarchy of priorities. Carlyle states,

> ...the spiritual detriment we unconsciously suffer, in every province of our affairs, from this our prostrate respect to power of speech is incalculable. For indeed it is the natural consumation of an epoch such as ours. Given a general insincerity of mind for several generations, you will certainly find the Talker established in the place of honour and the Doer, hidden in the obscure crowd, with activity lamed, or working sorrowfully forward on paths unworthy of him. All men are devoutly prostrate, worshipping the eloquent talker; and no man knows what a scandalous idol he is.[12]

Carlyle asks,"Is Society become wholly a bag of wind..."[13] Everyone, Carlyle reckoned, is talking and being talked to while no one does or even meditates on what must be done. Parliament has become a "Talking Apparatus; yet not in Parliament either is the essential function, by any means, talk."[14] The British people, having lost touch with God and His intention for mankind, now possess misplaced values and suffer from a deluded view of Reality. "Universal big black Democracy"[15] had given society "a Parliament more and more the express image of the People."[16] Since "there is nothing but vulgarity in our People's expectations, resolutions or desires, in this Epoch",[17] the political leadership which a system of democracy would give rise to must necessarily reflect this lack of Godliness.

An additional factor which Carlyle indentifies as resulting in British Parliament being reduced to "a mere hypocrisy, a noxious grimace"[18] is the fact that no king is present. Carlyle supposes that ultimately one single man, a Hero of deepest vision and truth, must reign over the business of governing society, particularly a society grown as complex and vast as Britain. Carlyle points out that "there rises universally the complaint, and expression of surprise, "That our reformed Parliament cannot get on with any kind of work."[19] All that appears to be accomplished is a great deal of talking. Carlyle's

contempt for the parliament of his day is so intense that his sarcasm and picturesque criticism is almost humorous. He continues,

> That a Parliament, especially a Parliament with Newspaper Reporters firmly established in it, is an entity which by its very nature cannot do work, but can do talk only...Consider, in fact, a body of Six-hundred and fifty-eight miscellaneous persons set to consult about 'business' with Twenty-seven millions mostly fools assiduously listening to them, and checking and criticising them:- was there ever since the world began, will there ever be till the world end, any 'business' accomplished in these circumstances?"[20]

Parliaments, Carlyle suggests, work well and exercise a necessary function when they are "actually in practice the Adviser of the Sovereign."[21] Ultimately, a king must exist. Carlyle refers to kinglessness as anarchy.[22] Without a ruler there can be no rule; without a governor there can be no governing; without a Hero there can be no Hero-Worship. And Hero-Worship represents, for Carlyle, "the innermost fact of...existence, and determines all the rest."[23] In this respect, the absence of a king or Hero is equivalent to not acknowledging God.

Carlyle saw the political leadership of his time as completely neglecting the spiritual needs and considerations of society. The people had deteriorated spiritually and consequently elected unspiritual leaders who concerned themselves only with the material or physical operations of society. In "Signs of the Times" Carlyle claims,

> It is no longer the moral, religious, spiritual condition of the people that is our concern, but their physical, practical, economical condition, as regulated by public laws. Thus is the Body-politic more than ever worshipped and tendered; but the Soul-politic less than ever. Love of country, in any high or generous sense, in any other than an almost animal sense, or mere habit, has little importance attached to it in such reforms, or in the opposition shown them!

> Men are to be guided only by their self-interests. Good government is a good balancing of these; and, except a keen eye and appetite for self-interest, requires no virtue in any quarter.[24]

Carlyle identified a lack of spiritual talent as the main reason for the anarchy which British leadership had deteriorated to.[25] This lack of spirituality, however, was by no means restricted to government alone; Carlyle recognized a similar deficit of spirituality in the social relationships of man to man. Carlyle suggested, in fact, that British society, "properly so called", is "as good as extinct; and that only the gregarious feelings, and old inherited habitudes, at this junction, hold us from dispersion and universal national, civil, domestic and personal war!"[26] Speaking through Teufelsdröckh in Sartor Resartus, Carlyle continues,

> 'Call ye that a Society; cries he again, 'where there is no longer any Social Idea extant; not so much as the Idea of a common Home, but only of a common over-crowded Lodging-house? Where each, isolated, regardless of his neighbour, turned against his neighbour, clutches what he can get, and cries "Mine!" and calls it Peace, because, in the cut-purse and cut-throat scramble, no steel knives, but only a far cunninger sort, can be employed?[27]

Carlyle defined the personal motivation of contemporary British society as self-interest. Men did not act for noble or divine reasons such as love, loyalty or reverence. Carlyle could see no evidence of higher spiritual forces. It seemed to him that every man had become obsessed with personally possessing as much as he possibly could. Carlyle states,

> The frightful condition of a Time, when public and private Principle as the word was once understood, having gone out of sight, and Self-interest being left to plot, and struggle, and scramble, as it could and would, Difficulties had accumulated till they were no longer to be borne, and the spirit that should have fronted and conquered them seemed to have forsaken the world...[28]

In by-gone times men and classes of men co-existed in harmony, trusting and mutually benefiting one another. Carlyle did not recognize this Godly state as apparent in contemporary society. At present he believed that a growing mistrust and hostility between upper and lower classes existed. The upper class feared that the lower orders would rise up in a bloody revolution similar to the one in France. At the same time, the lower classes were quickly realizing that the aristocracy no longer provided any service in return for their privileged position. In "The Dandiacal Body" from Sartor Resartus Carlyle points out,

> Such are the two Sects which, at this moment, divide the more unsettled portion of the British People; and agitate that ever-vexed country. To the eye of the political Seer, their mutual relation, pregnant with the elements of discord and hostility is far from consoling. These two principles of Dandiacal Self-worship or Demon-worship, and Poor-Slavish or Drudgical Earth-worship...extend through the entire structure of Society, and working unweariedly in the secret depths of English national Existence; striving to separate and isolate it into two contradictory uncommunicating masses.[29]

This hostility and mistrust, according to Carlyle, went even deeper than social class conflict. The very concept of a superior-inferior balance in society had become obscure. Carlyle claimed that "except by Mastership and Servantship, there is no conceivable deliverance from Tyranny and Slavery."[30] He believed that unless the relationship between master and servant was clearly defined, acknowleged, and adhered to, society would be ungoverned and ungovernable. He complained, however, that "in these days, the relationship of master to servant, and of superior to inferior, in all stages of it, is fallen sadly out of joint."[31]

Carlyle acknowledged that the aristocracy no longer satisfied

its God-given responsibility of governing and guiding England and, in this respect, empathized with the lower working classes. He defined the Chartist movement, for example, as "bitter discontent grown fierce and mad, the wrong condition therefore or the wrong disposition, of the Working Classes of England."[32] Chartism, as Carlyle understood it, was merely as physical manifestation of an unhappy, unhealthy spiritual condition brought about by want of adequate guidance. Carlyle suggested that what was needed was,

> a genuine understanding by the upper classes of society what it is that the under classes intrinsically mean; a clear interpretation of the thought which at heart torments these wild inarticulate souls, struggling there, with inarticulate uproar, like dumb creatures in pain, unable to speak what is in them![33]

In considering the physical maladies which he witnessed everywhere in British social relationships and arrangements, Carlyle believed that at base "the Spiritual condition of Society is no less sickly than the Physical."[34] And that, in fact, it is a decay of spiritual force, that is to say, man's personal relationship with God, that must ultimately be blamed for all the social strife England was experiencing. In Past and Present Carlyle claims that man has lost his soul. This is the "centre of the universal Social Gangrene" which threatens all of British society. He continues,

> You touch the focal-centre of all our disease, of our frightful nosology of diseases, when you lay your hand on this. There is no religion; there is no God; man has lost his soul, and vainly seeks antiseptic salt. Vainly: in killing Kings, in passing Reform Bills, in French Revolutions, Manchester Insurrections, is found no remedy. The foul elephantine leprosy, alleviated for an hour, reappears in new force and desperateness next hour.[35]

This loss or absence of soul, spirituality or Godliness,

Carlyle suggested, resulted in a general disintegration or deterioration of human social relations. Carlyle believed that God had created man as a Spirit, "bound by invisible bonds to All Men."[36] A lack of true spirituality, a deviation from the path of Godliness, reduced these mystical and invisible social bonds to the physical or material level of cash. According to Carlyle, the British people "have profoundly forgotten everywhere that Cash-payment is not the sole relationship of human beings."[37]

In contrast to the higher, more noble reasons for which Carlyle felt people in the Middle Ages worked, he despaired at the elevated position of cash and wages in contemporary British society. Modern man laboured not out of a sense of duty to God or his fellowman but solely for the money that he would earn. Carlyle laments,

> O reader, to what shifts is poor Society reduced, struggling to give still some account of herself, in epochs when Cash Payment has become the sole nexus of man to man! [38]

Carlyle believed that because cash and wages were the primary motivating force in society, the quality of that which England produced had decreased. The pride and craftsmanship which he acknowledged in medieval society he could not find in contemporary Britain. Men worked merely to collect their wages. Thus, there was little concern for the quality of what they produced. In "Shooting Niagara: And After?" Carlyle mentions a conversation with a friend. Carlyle's friend notes that some fifty years ago, in his boyhood, English produced articles were slightly more expensive but thought to be "well-made, faithful and skillful" things. Now, however, directly the reverse was true. The

friend continues, "If you find an English article, don't buy that; that will be a few pence cheaper, but it will prove only a more cunningly devised mendacity than any of the others."[39]

This lack of quality, Carlyle felt, was a result of the workman's unspiritual or unnoble approach and attitude to his labour; the consequence of mass production. Goods were manufactured in such an abundance that quality in some way must necessarily suffer. The factory method of production did not strike Carlyle as conducive to quality. No individual was responsible for or could take credit for the articles of production. Each man was isolated and detached from that which he assisted in manufacturing. Carlyle conceded that mass production did make goods cheaper but "by the ruin of living bodies and immortal souls."[40]

In pamphlet number I, "The Present Time", Carlyle considers the skill of sewing and its relation to the factory production of shirts. In medieval England needlewomen were artisans in their own right, producing, when necessary, beautiful tapestry and elaborate gowns. Nowadays, Carlyle points out, though shirts are produced by the thousands, no needlewomen can be found anywhere in England. He states,

> In high houses and in low, there is the same answer: no real needlewoman, 'distressed' or other, has been found attainable in any of the houses I frequent. Imaginary needlewomen, who demand considerable wages, and have a deepish appetite for beer and viands, I hear of everywhere; but their sewing proves too often a distracted puckering and botching; not sewing, only the fallacious hope of it, a fond imagination of the mind.[41]

Factories and mass production, in Carlyle's eyes, had done more than destroy the quality of British produced goods; they had resulted in a most unspiritual social condition, unemployment. Because of the introduction of machinery in production, far fewer men were required

to produce the same amount of goods. Hundreds of thousands of agricultural workers had flocked to the manufacturing districts. Advances in manufacturing technology resulted in many of these rural immigrants being unable to find gainful employment in the cities. Since Carlyle believed that "all true Work is Religion"[42] and that in labour "there is something of divineness",[43] this situation was definitely a deviation from God's Plan for mankind.

Humanitarian and philanthropic attitudes in nineteenth century England created "out-door relief" to help provide a marginal existence for the unemployed and destitute. Carlyle did not acknowledge charity of this form as virtuous or Godly. Giving food or money to idle men, men who did not labour as God had intended they should, was a violation of God's Law. In "Chartism" Carlyle emphasises,

> Any law, however well meant as a law, which has become a bounty on unthrift, idleness, bastardy and beer-drinking, must be put an end to. In all ways it needs, especially in these times, to be proclaimed aloud that for the idle man there is no place in this England of ours...He that will not work according to his faculty, let him perish according to his necessity: there is no law juster than that.[44]

Although he did not approve of their idleness, Carlyle emphathized with the unemployed, poor and destitute; that is, with the lower orders of society. Carlyle believed that the hardships and misery of the lower classes was worsening everyday. The material wealth of England had increased but unfortunately, Carlyle suggested, had not been evenly distributed among citizens of England. Wealth had "gathered itself more and more into masses, strangely altering the old relations, and increasing the distance between the rich and the poor."[45]

The poor appeared to be increasing in number and increasing, also, in misery, hopelessness and despair. Carlyle saw the rich getting

richer, lazier, more materially oriented and generally less Godly. The division between upper and lower classes in terms of work done and benefits yielded no longer reflected justice. In "Characteristics" Carlyle refers to this social and economic divorce of the classes as one of the "physical diseases of Society." He continues,

> Wealth has accumulated itself into masses; and Poverty, also in accumulation enough, lies impassably separated from it; opposed, uncommunicating, like forces in positive and negative poles. The gods of this low world sit aloft on glittering thrones, less happy than Epicurus's gods, but as idolent, as impotent; while the boundless living chaos of Ignorance and Hunger welters terrific, in its dark fury, under their feet.[46]

Carlyle attributed this unspiritual state of economic affairs to the existing policies of British government. The laissez-faire economic philosophy of Adam Smith had become very popular in nineteenth century English thought: Carlyle refers to laissez-faire policies as "self-cancelling Donothingism"[47], the source of many of England's economic and social problems. Considering that wealth was accumulating only in the upper class while the lower classes suffered unbearable physical and spiritual hardships, Carlyle believed that a great deal of government intervention was necessary. The very opposite of "Donothingism", what Carlyle may have called "Doeverythingism", was required in a time when inequality was everywhere the order of the day. In "Chartism" Carlyle's sarcasm and contempt for laissez-faire practices is blatant as he exclaims,

> Ah, it is not a joyful mirth, it is sadder than tears, the laugh Humanity is forced to, at Laissez-faire applied to poor peasants, in a world like our Europe of the year 1839! [48]

Laissez-faire policies and practices, Carlyle believed, were equivalent to no government or anarchy. Leadership based on a laissez-

faire foundation was "darker than darkness", resulting in "the Poor perishing, like neglected, foundered Draught-Cattle, of Hunger and over-work."[49] Carlyle concedes that laissez-faire may be appropriate in a different social and economic context, but within the present British situation government based "on a principle of Let-alone is no longer possible."[50] Laissez-faire, according to Carlyle, is,

> As good as an abdication on the part of governors: an admission that they are henceforth incompetent to govern, that they are not there to govern at all, but to do - one knows not what! The universal demand of Laissez-faire by a people from its governors or upper classes, is a soft-sounding demand; but it is only one step removed from the fatalist.[51]

Carlyle saw the practices of supply-and-demand and free-trade as equally unsatisfactory premises on which to base economic policies. He refers to supply-and-demand as "the all-sufficient substitute for command and obedience among two-legged animals of the unfeathered class."[52] Free trade, Carlyle suggests, for most men amounts to "Free racing, ere long with unlimited speed in the career of Cheap and Nasty."[53] Is the summary of man's social duties and the ultimate "Divine-message" he will follow "to make money and spend it...To buy in the cheapest market, and sell in the dearest."[54]

Carlyle witnessed what he perceived to be absurd contradictions, misplaced values and priorities, violations and crimes against God and mankind in all political and social arrangements of his time. But contemporary economic philosophies and practices seemed to him among the most repugnant. Economics, by its nature, is essentially concerned with the material world which for Carlyle is secondary in importance. In Past and Present he suggests that the outward, physical problems of

of British society may be taken as a message from God that much is amiss in man's understanding of the world and that which lies beyond. He claims,

> All this dire misery, therefore; all this of our poor Workhouse Workmen, of our Chartisms, Trade-strikes, Corn-Laws, Toryisms, and the general breakdown of Laissez-faire in these days, - may we not regard it as a voice from the dumb bosom of Nature, saying to us: Behold! Supply-and-demand is not the one Law of Nature; Cash-payment is not the sole nexus of man with man, - how far from it! Deep, far deeper than Supply-and-demand, are Laws, Obligations sacred as Man's Life itself...[55]

For Carlyle, man's disregard or obliviousness to these sacred Laws of Nature was the origin of England's political, social and economic woes. "The truth is, men have lost their belief in the Invisible, and believe, and hope, and work only in the Visible."[56] "The faith of men is dead."[57] The consequence of this sad internal fact, according to Carlyle, is the outward distresses and miseries which society was currently experiencing. Faith and man's personal relationship to God, that is to say, religion, for Carlyle, signifies man's "highest Spiritual function."

But true religion is no longer to be found "in these distracted times." The "Religious Principle" has been "driven out of most churches."[58] Religion, as with other spiritually based experiences, has been reduced to a mechanical, scientific understanding, interpretation and account of the Divine. Instead of illustrating "heroic martyr Conduct" with "soul-inspiring Eloquence" which materializes God and religion for the ordinary man, we have "Discourses on the Evidences, endeavouring, with smallest result, to make it probable that such a thing as Religion exists."[59] Religious persons now direct their attention toward

describing "how Faith shows and acts, and scientifically distinguishing true Faith from false."[60] Religion, Carlyle claims, has become "less and less creative, vital; more and more mechanical." He continues,

> Considered as a whole, the Christian Religion of late ages has been continually dissipating itself...and threatens now to disappear, as some rivers do, in deserts of barren sand.[61]

As true religion disappeared, science assumed its position. For Carlyle, religion was closely related to wonder; God is Unfathomable, Incomprehensible and cannot really be understood or even experienced at the cognitive, intellectual level. During the nineteenth century science, as a discipline, made a great deal of progress. Science began to provide answers and give accounts for phenomena which, since the beginning of man, had remained "unfathomable." As science progressed, less and less remained "incomprehensible." But wonder, says Carlyle in Sartor Resartus, "is the basis of Worship."

> That progress of Science, which is to destroy Wonder, and in its stead substitute Mensuration and Numberation, finds small favour with Teufelsdröck, much as he otherwise venerates these two latter processes.[62]

Through Teufelsdröchk's veneration for scientific practices, we see that Carlyle does recognize the significance and value of science. It is not scientific progress or advances as such that he objects to; rather, it is that science should remove wonder and God from human experience. Since God gave man an intellect, Carlyle calculates, progress and development at the cognitive level must be contained within Divine Intention. Science, best used, could assist man in appreciating God's universe with all its complexities. But if science replaces wonder, reverence and the belief in God, then it is a misused tool, contributing only toward spiritual suicide. The man who does not habitually wonder and worship, Carlyle

tells us, "is but a Pair of Spectacles behind which there is no Eye. Let those who have Eyes look through him, then he may be useful."[63]

But unfortunately, as Carlyle analyzed contemporary British Society, science was not being used in a noble, spiritual manner. Men had, in fact, in their "dislocated, hoodwinked, and indeed delirious condition",[64] lay that useful knife upon their spiritual throat. Science, growing and multiplying daily in its importance and impact, had robbed man of "Mystery and Mysticism". Carlyle believed that intellectual activity was Divine, but "thought without Reverence is barren, perhaps poisonous."[65] Intellect, the ability or power to know and believe, had become synonymous with logic. In "Signs of the Times" Carlyle suggests that science had so reduced the intellect that,

> Its implement is not Meditation, but Argument. 'Cause and effect' is almost the only category under which we look at, and work with, all Nature...We are no longer instinctively driven to apprehend, and lay to heart, what is Good and Lovely, but rather to inquire, as onlookers, how it is produced, whence it comes, whither it goes.[66]

According to Carlyle, science had defrauded mankind of inspiration, beauty, reverence, wonder; everything that was higher and noble in man. Even poetry, which traditionally had always been thought of as "mysterious" and "inscrutable", had been degraded with scientific explanation. "The building of the lofty rhyme is like any other masonry or bricklaying: we have theories of its rise, height, decline and fall,- which latter, it would seem, is now near."[67]

In these Godless and scientific times, poetry had become the expression, praise and worship of "brute strength." Carlyle noted this as yet another indication that society was suffering from the deepest of spiritual sicknesses. He suggests that,

> How widely this veneration for the physically Strongest has spread itself through Literature, any one may judge who reads either criticism or poem. We praise a work, not as 'true' but as 'strong'; our highest praise is that it has 'affected' us, has 'terrified' us. All this, it has been well observed, is the 'maximum of the Barbarous', the symptom, not of vigorous refinement, but of luxurious corruption.[68]

Carlyle distinguished corruption, not only in the contemporary examination and appreciation of poetry, but virtually in every area of human behavior and endeavour. In 1845 he wrote to his wife, "The naked beggarly Greed and Mammon-worship of the generation is sorrowfully apparent at present."[69] The distresses of the country seem to mount higher every day while common virtue and Godly qualities decrease reciprocally. Carlyle believed that the English mind was in a "deep-sunk condition". In all spiritual and moral provinces it had "long quitted company with fact, and ceased to have veracity of heart and clearness or sincerity of purpose."[70]

In a letter to his brother, Carlyle stated that this unspiritual, immoral situation in England was the result of the majority of the population deviating from the path of Godliness. "We are all to blame", he tells Alexander.

> We have forgotten what was right and reasonable, seeking after Mammon, vanity, and our own lusts; we have travelled long on that path, and it leads us toward ruin, as the like has ever led men and will ever lead them![71]

Though each man must assume part of the blame for the corruption, vulgarity and baseness of mind and spirit which characterized England in the eighteen hundreds, the government, ultimately, elicited the most contempt from Carlyle. Government's primary responsibility was the

spiritual and moral guidance of its people. While the country's spiritual disposition observably worsened, government busied itself adding to the social and spiritual anguish. In a letter to his once good friend, John Stuart Mill, Carlyle's contemptuous attitude toward governmental practices while "millions of living souls" sink "hourly in all senses to the Devil," is expressed.

> Devils drink (because it is of distilled Barley) left untaxed, and bread and pottage taxed; in both cases, that the rent may rise. Burst of Parliamentary eloquence still going on, and Hell and Hunger still reaping their abundant harvest. Out upon it! One cannot look at it without a mixture of horror and contempt.[72]

Although Carlyle clearly expressed his disgust for "Bursts of Parliamentary eloquence", and blamed the government in many ways for the physical and spiritual crisis of society, it must be remembered that in "Signs of the Times" he wrote, "it is the noble People that makes the noble Government; rather than conversley."[73] Contemporary British government was, according to Carlyle, not functioning as true government. However, the masses selected such a government and, in fact, continued to tolerate it.

One of the most popular metaphors Carlyle used in describing contemporary British society was one of machinery. England was, "in every outward and inward sense of the word", experiencing an era which must be characterized as the "Age of Machinery." The essay "Signs of the Times" is completely and solely a development and expansion of this metaphor. Carlyle begins by describing the period in England's development which,

> ...with its whole undivided might, forwards, teaches and practises the great art of adapting means to end. Nothing is done directly, or by hand; all is by rule and calculated contrivance. For the simplest operation, some helps and accompaniments, some cunning abbreviated process is in readiness.[74]

Carlyle claimed that every physical and spiritual aspect of society had become mechanical in its nature and function. Government was equivalent to a machine: "to the discontented, a taxing-machine; to the contented, a machine for securing property."[75] Its responsibilities or even shortcomings were not those of a father, but of an "active parish-constable." Religion, or the pretense of religion, Carlyle saw as similarly mechanical in the execution of its duties. He elaborates,

> We have Religious machines, of all imaginable varieties; the Bible-Society, professing a far higher and heavenly structure, is found, on inquiry, to be altogether an earthly contrivance: supported by collection of moneys, by fomenting vanities, by puffing, intrigue and chicane; a machine for converting the Heathen.[76]

Carlyle suggested that this mechanical metaphor applied at an even deeper level than government and religious organizations. Even thoughts and feelings had become mechanical. "Men are grown mechanical in head and in heart," Carlyle writes, "as well as in hand."[77] England's moral condition had also been "mechanically influenced." "Of any believe in invisible, divine things, we find as few traces in our Morality as elsewhere",[78] he writes. Carlyle believed that "the mechanical genious" of his time had diffused itself into virtually every dimension of society. Both the physical and the spiritual had been reduced to a level equal to that of a machine. Thus, and unfortunately, Carlyle even identified "machines for education."[79]

Education, Carlyle believed, like government and religion, had become mechanical in nature and function. Empty meaningless facts were mechanically transmitted to the young by teachers who themselves were spiritually ignorant. In Sartor Resartus Carlyle frequently reflects on the educational experiences of Teufelsdröckh.

> 'My Teachers', says he, 'were hide-bound Pedants, without knowledge of man's nature, or of boy's; or of aught save their lexicons and quarterly account-books. Innumerable dead Vocables (no dead Languages, for they themselves knew no Language) they crammed into us, and called it fostering the growth of the mind. How can an inanimate, mechanical Gerund grinder...foster the growth of anything; much more of mind, which grows, not like a vegetable (by having its roots littered with etymological compost), but like a spirit, by mysterious contact of Spirit; Thought kindling itself at the fire of living Thought? How shall he give kindling, in whose own inward man there is no live coal, but all is burnt-out to a dead grammatical cinder?[80]

"The hungry young", Carlyle writes, looking up to their spiritual teachers, were "bidden eat the east wind." In response to their spiritual needs, contemporary education provided them with "vain jargon of controversial Metaphysics, Etymology, and mechanical Manipulation falsely named science."[81] Carlyle believed that the schools and universities of England emphasized only the outward, mechanical, physical aspects of existence; implying that the inward, spiritual province was not only unimportant but unprovable and unscientific and,therefore, a form of superstition which proper education would correct. This type of education, Carlyle believed, was far worse than no education at all; "as poisoned victual may be worse than absolute hunger."[82]

For this reason, Carlyle reckoned that within the context of modern British society, the uneducated lower orders, though misdirected and unguided, still possessed some remnant of faith and belief in things

unseen. The higher, educated classes, however, because their training emphasized only that which was observable, verifiable and of the material world, had quickly and completely ceased to believe in anything beyond that which the senses could perceive. In "Corn-Law Rhymes" Carlyle points out that in these strange times it is actually "no special misfortune to be trained up among the Uneducated classes, and not among the Educated; but rather of two misfortunes the smaller."[83]

Informal training or education among the lower orders still centered itself around work. Carlyle saw this as a very significant advantage which the "uneducated working classes" had over the "educated unworking classes." "To Work!" Carlyle continues,

> What incalculable sources of cultivation lie in that process, in that attempt; how it lays hold of the whole man, not of a small theoretical calculating fraction of him, but of the whole practical, doing and daring and enduring man; thereby to awaken dormant faculties, root-out old errors, at every step![84]

But the educational practices and priorities of the higher orders did not involve this valuable methodology of work. Education did not provide the upper classes with any idea of how to work or even how to act. Carlyle believed that current education only succeeded in teaching the young to speak prolifically. School methods and school purposes had become "superannuated" and "inapplicable." Carlyle points out that,

> Our schools go all upon the vocal hitherto; no clear aim in them but to teach the young creature how he is to speak, to utter himself by tongue and pen;- which, supposing him even to have something to utter, as he so very rarely has, is by no means the thing he specially wants in our times. How he is to work, to behave and do; that is the question for him, which he seeks the answerof in schools;- in schools, having now so little chance of it elsewhere.[85]

"The grand result of schooling", Carlyle tells us, "is a mind with just vision to discern, with free force to do."[86] In contemporary "logic-shops and nonsense-verse establishments"[87] this noble objective was certainly not being met. Carlyle suggested that the education of his day, emphasizing only the physical, resulted in the young graduating with no basis on which to act, nothing Great, True, Just or Good that they could believe in or aspire toward. The universities had robbed the world of Godly-Spirituality. In Sartor Resartus, Teufelsdröckh relates his own sad experiences at university. He recalls,

> ...we boasted ourselves a Rational University; in the highest degree hostile to Mysticism; thus was the young vacant mind furnished with much talk about Progress of the Species, Dark Ages, Prejudice, and the like; so that all were quickly enough blown out into a state of windy argumentativeness; whereby the better sort had soon to end in sick, impotent Scepticism; the worser sort explode...in finished Self-conceit, and to all spiritual intents become dead. - But this too is portion of mankind's lot...our era is the Era of Unbelief.[88]

Carlyle was overcome with grief and despair at the lack of Godliness which he perceived everywhere in contemporary British society. Considering how deeply his own personal religious and spiritual convictions were, it was very difficult for him to accept that England was in an "Era of Unbelief." Still, the evidence of man's loss of spirituality was apparent. "Ballot-boxing" and "Donothingism" were the current false ideologies of leadership. Self-interest appeared to be the sole motivating force of the day. Human relationships had been reduced to a cash exchange. Faith and man's belief in things beyond the physical world were dead. Science had replaced God, leaving society mechanical, vulgar, base and spiritual starving.

> The thinking minds of all nations call for change. [Carlyle claims] There is a deep-lying struggle

> in the whole fabric of society; a boundless grinding collision of the new and the old.[89]

To his friend, John Stuart Mill, Carlyle writes, "The world, as I often declare, is actually gone distracted- with hard usage and insufficient diet." Although he continues, "God help it, for I cannot,"[90] he nonetheless provides us with many prescriptive measures for the future. From his books and essays we are able to synthesize a rather specific scheme which Carlyle proposed would restore man's social and spiritual harmony.

FOOTNOTES

1. T. Carlyle, Sartor Resartus and Selected Prose, H. Sussman (ed.), Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1970, p. 124. Hereafter referred to as Sartor Resartus.

2. T. Carlyle, "Characteristics," Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Volume III, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, p. 39. Hereafter referred to as "Characteristics."

3. M. Hamilton, Thomas Carlyle, Henry Holt and Company, New York, p.5.

4. T. Carlyle, Latter-Day Pamphlets, Works, Volume V, Chapman and Hall, London, 1885. Hereafter referred to as Latter-Day Pamphlets.

5. T. Carlyle, Past and Present, R. Altick (ed), Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1965, p.p. 214-15, Hereafter referred to as Past and Present.

6. Ibid., p.p. 218-19.

7. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 179.

8. Ibid., p. 20.

9. Ibid., p. 16.

10. Ibid., p. 208.

11. Ibid., p. 171.

12. Ibid., p.p. 151-152.

13. Ibid., p. 165.

14. Ibid., p.p. 166-67.

15. Ibid., p. 10.

16. Ibid., p. 185.

17. T. Carlyle, "Shooting Niagara: And After?", Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Volume V, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, p. 19. Hereafter referred to as "Shooting Niagara: And After?"

18. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 190.

19. Ibid., p.p. 193-94.

20. Ibid., p. 194.

21. Ibid., p. 193.

22. Ibid., p. 7.

23. Past and Present, p. 125.

24. T. Carlyle, "Signs of the Times," Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Volume II, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, p. 67. Hereafter referred to as "Signs of the Times."

25. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 111.

26. Sartor Resartus, p. 216.

27. Ibid.

28. T. Carlyle, "Corn-Law Rhymes," Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Volume III, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, p.p. 148-49, Hereafter referred to as "Corn-Law Rhymes."

29. Sartor Resartus, p. 258.

30. T. Carlyle, "The Nigger Question," Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Volume IV, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, p. 362. Hereafter referred to as "The Nigger Question."

31. Ibid.

32. T. Carlyle, "Chartism," Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Volume IV, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, p. 119. Hereafter referred to as "Chartism."

33. Ibid., p. 122.

34. "Characteristics," p. 22.

35. Past and Present, p. 141.

36. Sartor Resartus, p. 81.

37. Past and Present, p. 148.

38. "Chartism," p. 164.

39. "Shooting Niagara? And After?", p. 36.

40. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 25.
41. Ibid.
42. Past and Present, p. 201.
43. Ibid., p. 202.
44. "Chartism," p. 132.
45. "Signs of the Times," p. 60.
46. "Characteristics," p. 20.
47. "Chartism," p. 167.
48. Ibid., p. 142.
49. Sartor Resartus, p. 216.
50. "Chartism," p. 155.
51. Ibid., p.p. 156-57.
52. "The Nigger Question," p. 361.
53. "Shooting Niagara: And After ?", p. 2.
54. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 16.
55. Past and Present, p. 187.
56. "Signs of the Times," p.74.
57. "Chartism", p. 151.
58. Sartor Resartus, p. 250.
59. "Characteristics," p. 23.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. Sartor Resartus, p. 87.
63. Ibid., p. 88.
64. Ibid., p. 261.
65. Ibid., p. 87.
66. "Signs of the Times," p. 74.

67. Ibid., p. 76.

68. Ibid., p. 78.

69. T. Carlyle to Jane Welsh Carlyle, 1845, Thomas Carlyle: Letters to His Wife, T. Bliss (ed.), Victor Gollancz Ltd., London, 1953, p. 209.

70. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 220.

71. T. Carlyle to Alexander Carlyle, 1842, The Letters of Thomas Carlyle to His Brother Alexander with Related Family Letters, E. Marrs (ed.), The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 1968, p. 539.

72. T. Carlyle to John Stuart Mill, 1833, Letters of Thomas Carlyle to John Stuart Mill, John Sterling and Robert Browning, A. Carlyle (ed.), Fisher Unwin Ltd., London, 1923, p. 50. Hereafter referred to as Letters to Mill.

73. "Signs of the Times," p. 72.

74. Ibid., p. 59.

75. Ibid., p. 67.

76. Ibid., p. 61.

77. Ibid., p. 63.

78. Ibid., p. 78.

79. Ibid., p. 61.

80. Sartor Resartus, p.p. 117-18.

81. Ibid., p. 124.

82. Ibid., p. 121.

83. "Corn-Law Rhymes," p. 139.

84. Ibid., p. 121.

85. "Shooting Niagara: And After?", p. 39.

86. "Corn-Law Rhymes," p. 142.

87. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 181.

88. Sartor Resartus, p.p. 123-24.

89. "Signs of the Times," p. 82.

90. T. Carlyle to John Stuart Mill, 1832, Letters to Mill, p. 7.

CHAPTER V

THE FUTURE

> And shall Evil always prosper, then? Out of all Evil comes Good? and no Good that is possible but shall one day be real. Deep and sad as is our feeling that we stand yet in the bodeful Night; equally deep, indestructible is our assurance that the Morning also will not fail. Nay, already, as we look round, streaks of a dayspring are in the east; it is dawning; when the time shall be fulfilled, it will be day. The progress of man towards higher and nobler developments of whatever is highest and noblest in him, lies not only prophesied to Faith, but now written to the eye of Observation, so that he who runs may read.("Characteristics")

In Sartor Resartus Teufelsdröckh mentions that he has already begun a second volume on his "Philosophy of Clothes." This second volume, entitled "On the Palingenesia, or Newbirth of Society", is to deal primarily with the "Retexture of Spiritual Tissues, or Garments."[1] Although Carlyle may never have intended to write such a book, an analysis of his works, in general, yields a rather specific and concrete prescription of remedial measures intended to rectify the physical and spiritual maladies of British society.

It cannot be said that Carlyle prophesied or predicted the form that future English society would assume. He said himself, "Our grand business undoubtedly is, not to see what lies dimly at a distance, but to do what lies clearly at hand."[2] What lay at hand for Carlyle was the task of immediately beginning to restore some of the faith and belief which men had let evaporate from their souls, their lives

and thus their society. Carlyle diagnosed the unhealthy condition of England as the result of a general lack of spirituality and Godliness within each man and, therefore, within society at large. His prescription for the future which calls for an increase in "true religion" consistently reflects this diagnosis.

Although contemporary British society had diverged from the path of Godliness, Carlyle was optimistic about the future. The recognition that something was amiss in society signified "the first dim rudiments and already-budding germs of a nobler Era."[3] The masses, Carlyle believed, were demonstrating their grave dissatisfaction and everywhere men were beginning to feel empty at the level of cash payment and self-interest. Carlyle encouragingly points out that it is truly "beautiful to see the brutish empire of Mammon cracking everywhere; giving sure promise of dying, or of being changed."[4]

Carlyle warns that there is no specific act of Parliament or other remedial measure which can simply be enacted to correct all the miseries and mischief of society. Carlyle cautions that no "Morrison's Pill"[5] is possible to cure the maladies of England. The first step in a long journey of spiritual rehabilitation must be to change the type of men who guide and govern Britain. In Past and Present Carlyle suggests,

> Not any universal Morrison's Pill shall we then, either as swallowers or as venders, ask after at all; but a far different sort of remedies: Quacks shall no more have dominion over us, but true Heroes and Healers![6]

Government, that is political and spiritual leadership, holds a very important position in Carlyle's prescription for England's future. He desperately warns that wiser government must be found, "— wiser, or else we perish!"[7] Carlyle believed that it may take several generations before England's governmental forces would once more harmonize with

Divine Intention. At the same time, he suggests that administrative leadership is certainly the first area which required spiritual remediation. He claims,

> A long time yet till we get our living interests put under due administration, till we get our dead interests handsomely dismissed. A long time yet till, by extensive change of habit and ways of thinking and acting, we get living 'lungs' for ourselves! Nevertheless, by Reform of Downing Street, we do begin to breathe; we do start in the way towards that and all high results.[8]

The spiritual characteristics of the individual men who rule over England are a fundamental aspect of Carlyle's prescription for the future. The ungodly condition of contemporary England, Carlyle believed, was largely the result of the unspiritual leadership which existed. The spirituality of leadership in the future becomes one of Carlyle's main concerns. He continually promotes the spiritual, Godly aspect of political leadership. Carlyle suggests that true spiritual leadership could "gradually remove the dung-mountains; however high they are."[9] In all areas of human experience, both spiritual and temporal, the able man, "eternally elected...by the Maker Himself",[10] has the potential to guide and govern in a Godly manner.

From Carlyle's writings it is possible to fabricate a rather detailed characterization of a future spiritually competent leader. He will be "the born enemy of Falsity and Anarchy, and the born soldier of Truth and Order."[11] He will possess a considerable degree of "chivalry and magnanimity."[12] He will invariably be reticent. "No mortal can both work and do good talking in parliament, or out of it: the feat is impossible as that of serving two hostile masters."[13] Most of all he will be strong; capable of resorting to any measures in order to restore justice, truth and God to British Society. He will (I believe Carlyle

is not speaking metaphorically) take the nation firmly and scold it, saying,

> Enough, ye slaves, and servants of the mud-gods; all this must cease! Our hearts abhor all this; our soul is sick under it; God's curse is on us while this lasts.[14]

The man who complies with this characterization would constitute the classic Carlylean hero. Since Carlyle believed that it is "not by Self-interest, but by Loyalty, that men are governed or governable",[15] the concept of a Hero and subsequent Hero-worship plays a central part in future political leadership and public obedience. The mass of future society, if it is able to recognize genuine heroic leadership, will necessarily and simultaneously be in a spiritual position to worship it. Carlyle points out that "the true eye for talent presupposes the true reverence for it."[16]

Hero-worship is the essence of Carlyle's ideal, future, political leadership. He believed that Hero-worship was apparent to a large degree in medieval society but that it has slipped into abeyance in contemporary England. Carlyle's deepest hope for the future rest in society's increased Hero recognition and worship. To improve the degree and quality of Hero-worship "means the awakening of the Nation's soul from its asphyxia, and the return of blessed life to us."[17] Carlyle refers to Hero-worship as "the ruling phenomenon"[18] and claims that "nations that do their Hero-worship well are blessed and victorious."[19] In Sartor Resartus he suggests that,

> Hero-worship exists, has existed, and will forever exist, universally among Mankind, mayest thou discern the corner-stone of living-rock, whereon all polities for the remotest time may stand secure.[20]

The ultimate Hero to which Carlyle refers would be the king. Much in line with medieval thought, Carlyle believed that "a King rules

by divine right. He carries in him an authority from God."[21] It would require a true Heroic King to bring British government back to the path of Godliness. Carlyle felt that reforms of all variety were empty and useless without a Heroic King to ensure that the right reforms were enacted and properly carried through. In Latter-Day Pamphlets Carlyle states,

> Parliaments, I think, have proved too well, in late years, that they are not the remedy. It is not Parliaments, reformed or other, that will ever send Herculean men to Downing Street, to reform Downing Street for us; to diffuse therefrom a light of Heavenly Order, instead of the murk of Stygian Anarchy, over this sad world of ours. That function does not lie in the capacities of Parliament. That is the function of a King, - if we could get such a priceless entity, which we cannot just now! Failing which, Statesmen, or Temporary-Kings, and at the very lowest one real Statesmen, to shape the dim tendencies of Parliament, and guide them wisely to the goal: he, I perceive, will be a primary condition, indispensable for any progress whatsoever.[22]

The king (or at minimum a spiritual statesman) once procured, would surround himself with an elite, "the fittest from the whole Twenty-seven Millions that he could hear of."[23] This Carlyle refers to as "a government of the wisest...an Aristocracy of Talent" which he felt was "the one healing remedy"[24] for the British political situation. In securing this elite, Carlyle suggests the first step would be to scrutinize the existing aristocracy. A class of brave men and polite, gracious women 'bught to be good for something, in a society mostly fallen vulgar and chaotic like ours!"[25] In "Shooting Niagara: And After?" Carlyle continues,

> Aristocracy by title, by fortune and position, who can doubt but there are still precious possibilities among the chosen of that class. And if that fail us, there is still, we hope, the unclassed Aristocracy by nature, not inconsiderable in numbers, and supreme in faculty, in wisdom, human talent, nobleness and courage, 'who derive their patent of nobility direct from Almighty God'.[26]

Before the Aristocracy of Talent is identified and delegated power, Carlyle suggests an intermediate step. His suggestion is that the Queen make the first reasonably spiritual stateman her Prime Minister. To ensure that this immediately more spiritual Prime Minister has the necessary freedom to command and begin reform, Carlyle suggests that all government secretaries, officials and ministers should be selected "without reference to their getting into Parliament." Carlyle continues,

> ...in short, the Queen shall have power of nominating the half-dozen or half-score Officers of Administration, whose presence is thought necessary in Parliament, to official seats there, without reference to any constituency but her own only, which of course will mean her Prime Minister's.[27]

Carlyle assumes that once at least one reasonably spiritual man has gained control and has surrounded himself with a handful of likewise spiritual assistants, true reform may begin. He assumes, also, that these somewhat spiritual men will begin to identify other noble, heroic souls and, thus, that a certain increase in the spiritual quality of political leadership would gradually occur. In Past and Present, however, Carlyle does point out that much more than mere changes in government is required if England is to harmonize once more with God's Intention.

> Government [he proposes] can do much, but it can in no wise do all. Government, as the most conspicuous object in Society, is called upon to give signal of what shall be done; and, in many ways, to preside over, further, and command the doing of it. But the Government cannot do, by all its signalling and commanding, what the society is radically indisposed to do. In the long-run every Government is the exact symbol of its People, with their wisdom and unwisdom; we have to say, Like People like Government.[28]

Carlyle does not accept that reform begins at the top and filters down. He suggest, rather, that improvements in the spiritual condition of society are the result of an improved spiritual condition among the masses. If spiritual leadership is given authority, it is

because the masses are sufficiently Godly to realize that such leadership is necessary and desirable. Carlyle claims that "Reform, like Charity,...must begin at home."[29]

Thus, Carlyle's spiritual prescription for the future rests on a foundation of personal or individual spiritual reform. Each person, within himself and his own limited context, must strive to awaken the soul which he has allowed to drift into slumber. To the question, What can be done to cure the social maladies of England?, Carlyle responds;

> ...the thing for thee to do is, if possible, to cease to be a hollow sounding-shell of hearsays, egoisms, purblind dilettantisms; and become, were it on the infinitely small scale, a faithful discerning soul. Thou shalt descend into thy inner man, and see if there be any traces of a soul there; till then there can be nothing done! O brother, we must if possible resuscitate some soul and conscience in us, exchange our dilettantisms for sincerities, our dead hearts of stone for living hearts of flesh. Then shall we discern, not one thing, but, in clearer or dimmer sequence, a whole endless host of things that can be done. Do the first of these; do it; the second will already have become clearer, doabler; the second, third and three-thousandth will then have begun to be possible for us.[30]

Carlyle's position on improving future social interactions is simply that if each individual were in harmony with the Unfathomable, in tune with God's word, social relations would correspondingly improve. From Carlyle's organic view of society, "the decisive Oneness he ascribes to Nature",[31] it follows that if each individual were spiritually intact, society in general would be spiritually complete.

Carlyle believes, in fact, that all emotions and noble human interactions stem from a common love of God. Friendship, for example, is only possible "by a mutual devotedness to the Good and True."[32] Similarly, Hero-worship, which is a form of religious-worship, Carlyle claims is the "soul of all social business among men." In Past and Present

he continues, suggesting "that the doing of it well, or the doing of it ill, measures accurately what degree of well-being or of ill-being there is in the world's affairs."[33]

Since Carlyle believed absolutely that God was our heavenly father, he believed, also, that men were united to one another by ties as strong or stronger than family bonds. In Sartor Resartus he mentions, "In vain thou deniest it...thou art my Brother."[34] If future British society could deeply and totally believe and accept this basic socio-religious premise, the contemporary cash nexus would disintegrate. "Love of men cannot be bought by cash-payment," Carlyle tells us in Past and Present, "and without love, men cannot endure to be together."[35]

All future social relationships according to Carlyle, must be based on love, which, being one of the highest human experiences, reflects something of the noble or Divine in man. Men love each other because they love God. Relationships are noble because the individuals involved in the relationships are noble. With an increase in each man's spiritual, personal relationship to God, social problems would certainly decrease. Even the frenzied, mistrusting relationship between social classes, which Carlyle witnessed in contemporary Britain, could be corrected. In his essay, "Chartism," Carlyle points out;

> The struggle that divides the upper and lower in society over Europe, and more painfully and notably in England than elsewhere, this too is a struggle which will end and adjust itself as all other struggles do and have done, by making the right clear and the might clear; not otherwise than by that.[36]

According to Carlyle, God had created an elite spiritually competent to rule. In the future Carlyle hoped that this divinely ordained elite would come to realize that each working person was entitled to

"food, shelter, due guidance in return for his labour."[37] Having received as much, the workers of society would have no reason to be hostile or aggressive toward the leaders of future Britain. Carlyle believed that each fraction of any community must recognize the mutual needs and rights of all other parts of that aggregate.

Carlyle envisioned future society as devoid of hostility or conflict between social classes because he anticipated the disappearance of "class" as a concept. He did not suggest that men were created or developed equally. On the contrary, he believed that obvious spiritual inequality existed among men. He did hope, however, that Britain in the future would transcend class consciousness and unite as a whole community. In Carlyle's organic view of society, differentiation of function would certainly exist. The hand and heart of a body perform very different functions but they are in no respect hostile to one another. Carlyle advanced a similar, mutually beneficial sort of relationship between the workers and leaders of future society.

Until the workers were given a "Fair-day's-wages for fair-day's-work,"[38] however, social harmony would never occur. Because the workers were not treated fairly in contemporary society, class consciousness developed in hopes of affecting influence which would result in better treatment. If the almost religious importance of work and the associated importance of workers were recognized, fair treatment would follow. In Past and Present Carlyle claims that "Some Chivalry of Labour, some noble Humanity and practical Divineness of Labour will yet be realized on this Earth."[39] When such a recognition occurs, class consciousness will no longer be necessary.

Although Carlyle hoped that in the future workers would be

treated fairly and thus exist symbiotically as essential elements of society, he felt that organization among the workers was mandatory for future industrial harmony. He believed that in the future workers would be able to organize themselves not to disrupt society but to aid in the harmonious progress of industry. This organization of labour, what in modern terms would constitute labour or trade unions, can not be superimposed from above. Carlyle claimed that labour leaders and organizers, in order to comprehend the requirements of the situation completely, must come from within the working strata itself. He writes;

> The main substance of this immense Problem of Organizing Labour, and first of all of Managing the working Classes, will, it is very clear, have to be solved by those who stand practically in the middle of it; by those who themselves work and preside over work.[40]

This organizer or manager of labour, Carlyle most frequently refers to as the future "Captain of Industry." It is on the shoulders of this Industrial Captain that the paramount task of spiritualizing British industry will fall. "It is he that has to recivilise, out of its now utter savagery, the world of Industry."[41] Captains of Industry, Carlyle tells us, will be "able to command men in the ways of industrial and moral welldoing."[42] The "Leaders of Industry", Carlyle believes, will be "virtually the Captains of the world."

> Captains of Industry [he continues] are the true Fighters, henceforth recognisable as the only true ones: Fighters against Chaos, Necessity and the Devils and Jötuns; and lead on Mankind in that great and alone true, and universal warfare...[42]

Where there are "Captains of Industry" there must necessarily be "Soldiers of Industry." Carlyle's entire concept of future industrial arrangements, in fact, is described in terms of a military metaphor. "Awake, ye noble workers, warriors in the one true war,"[43] he cries in

Past and Present. Similarly, Carlyle continually employs the term regimented to describe the future industrial state of society. In pamphlet number IV Carlyle says,

> Wise obedience and wise command, I foresee that the regimenting of pauper Banditti into Soldiers of Industry is but the beginning of the blessed process, which will extend to the topmost heights of our Society; and in the course of generations, make us all once more a Governed Commonweath...[44]

Changing paupers into "Soldiers of Industry," as well as "regimenting" industry and delegating power to "Captains of Industry" are all forms of state or government intervention. Carlyle violently objected to laissez-faire practices. In a society undergoing such complex and unhealthy changes, much more governmental action was required. Carlyle believed that government must absolutely "lift itself out of those deep ruts of donothing routine."[45] Carlyle points out,

> Government is loath to interfere with the pursuits of any class of citizens; and oftenest looks on in silence while follies are committed. But Government does interfere to prevent afflictive accumulations on the streets, malodorous or other unsanitary public procedures of an extensive sort; regulates gullydrains, cesspools; prohibits the piling-up of dungheaps; and is especially strict on the matter of indecent exposure. Wherever the health of the citizens is concerned, much more where their souls' health, and as it were their very salvation, is concerned, all Governments that are not chimerical make haste to interfere.[46]

In the future Carlyle felt that all men would come to realize the true meaning of government. In nineteenth century Britain legislative intervention held a somewhat negative connotation. Government intervention, in Carlyle's mind, however, was positive and highly desirable. Government existed to guide and govern, not to merely stand back and let anarchy take its toll. In Past and Present, first published in 1843, Carlyle notes that already,

> ...men are beginning to see, that Legislative interference, and interferences not a few are indispensable; that as a lawless anarchy of supply-and-demand, on market-wages alone, this province of things cannot longer be left. Nay interference has begun: there are already Factory Inspectors, - who seem to have no lack of work. Perhaps there might be Mine-Inspectors too: - might there not be Furrowfield Inspectors withal, and ascertain for us how on seven and sixpence a week a human family does live! Interference has begun; it must continue, must extensively enlarge itself, deepen and sharpen itself.[47]

Thus, Carlyle promotes intense governmental interference for the future. He believed that the government must interfere in order to extinguish expressions of evil or the devil such as unemployment and poverty. We can assume that Carlyle would advocate regulations and standards in many aspects of industry, commerce and social welfare. In his vision of the future it would seem that laws, the end result of governmental legislation, would be abundant and, no doubt, they would. But ultimately, Carlyle reminds us, only one law is necessary, the eternal law of God. Carlyle tells us that in the final analysis only one thing is really needed.

> ...one thing; - and that one will in nowise consent to be dispensed with! He that can ascertain, in England or elsewhere, what the laws of the Eternal are and walk by them voted for or unvoted, with him it will be well...[48]

If God's law is strictly and religiously adhered to, all will be, at least, if not more than, tolerable. If the Law of God was applied here on earth, as Carlyle believed it should be, spiritual improvements would manifest themselves everywhere in the form of physical or material improvements. The quality of what men produced, for example, would reflect an increase in spirituality.

Producing "cheap and nasty" goods, according to Carlyle, "is always infidelity, and is dishonourable to a man."[49] "Universal shoddy and Devil's-dust cunningly varnished over"[50] is equivalent to lying or,

in many senses, stealing because the article is not genuine, real or lasting. Future British production, Carlyle hoped, would reflect a higher degree of spiritual awareness on the part of the worker. Pride and honour in work and the finished product would once more re-establish the supremacy of British production.

Mass production may result in a larger amount of goods to be sold and, therefore, a larger profit but it achieves this material gain at the expense of the spiritual. There is a value in human things, Carlyle claims, far beyond that which can be written down in a cash ledger. Finally men are beginning to realize that "there are invaluable values which cannot be sold for money at all."[51]

Carlyle consistently complained about the vulgar, base and ungodly quality of life which characterized contemporary British society. Life had become almost exclusively an enterprize directed at gaining and accumulating material goods. Carlyle believed that this must be altered in the future. He suggests that it is the responsibility of the government to intervene in an attempt to restore some of the personal quality that God had intended mankind to experience.

In spite of his Gospel of Labour, Carlyle recommends the progressive notion of municipal parks which could be used for family recreation and leisure.

> Every toiling Manchester, its smoke and soot all burnt, ought it not, among so many world-wide conquests, to have a hundred acres or so of free greenfield, with trees on it, conquered, for its little children to disport in; for its all-conquering workers to take a breath of twilight air in? You would say so! A willing Legislature could say so with effect. A willing Legislature could say very many things! And to whatsoever 'vested interest', or such like, stood up, gainsaying merely, "I shall lose profits," - the willing Legislature would answer, "Yes, but my sons and daughters will gain health and life, and a soul."[52]

Carlyle hoped that in the future, with a rekindling of spiritual fires and an increase in personal, living religion, Britain would once more harmonize with Divine Intention. The quality of life and the quality of work would both reflect this revitalization of spiritual forces. Men and society would no longer function mechanically, devoid of higher, noble emotions and motives. Mechanization itself, rather than continuing to be the master, would come to serve society as God had intended it should. "The genius of Mechanism," Carlyle writes, "will not always sit like a choking incubus on our souls; but at length, when by a new magic Word the old spell is broken, become our slave, and as familiar-spirit do all our bidding."[53]

Carlyle believed that many of England's contemporary social and economic problems were exaggerated by the mid-nineteenth century population explosion. Improvements in medicine, safety and sanitation, as well as changes in population density, resulted in what appeared to be an over-crowding of the British nation. "Over-population," Carlyle writes, "is the grand anomaly, which is bringing all other anomalies to a crisis."[54] This increased population was draining England's resources. Unemployment, inadequate housing and food shortages were all adversly affecting the quality of British life. To rectify this situation, Carlyle proposed a scheme of mass emigration to British colonies. In Latter-Day Pamphlets Carlyle elaborates;

> England looking on her Colonies can say: "Here are lands and seas, spice-lands, corn-lands, timber-lands, overarched by zodiacs and stars, clasped by many-sounding seas; wide spaces of the Maker's building, fit for the cradle yet of mighty Nations and their Sciences and Heroeisms. Fertile continents still inhabited by wild beasts are mine, into which all the distressed populations of Europe might pour themselves, and make at once an Old World and a New World human. By

> the eternal fiat of the gods, this must yet one day be; this, by all the Divine Silences that rule this Universe, silent to fools, eloquent and awful to the hearts of the wise, is incessantly at this moment, and at all moments, commanded to begin to be. Unspeakable deliverance, and new destiny of thousand-fold expanded manfulness for all men, dawns out of the Future here.[55]

Carlyle believed that "all new epochs, so convulsed and tumultuous to look upon, are expansions, increase of faculty not yet organized."[56] England was growing, developing and changing and as yet remained unorganized. Mass emigration of the poor, destitute and unproductive (whether by choice or lack of opportunity) would ultimately alleviate some of the chaos and disorder which characterized contemporary British society. When natural resources are abundant, all men have the opportunity to work which is in accordance with God's plan for mankind. With extensive land area, spiritual equilibrium is more likely since men are not overcrowded, competing for resources and opportunities. Emigration to the colonies would restore the physical and spiritual harmony of Britain by removing ungodly over-crowding and of the colonies by beginning the Godly process of civilization. God created the earth for his children. When one nation became crowded, Carlyle assumed, God intended that men should redistribute themselves where work remained to be done. Carlyle points out that,

> ...Canadian Forests stand unfelled, boundless Plains and Prairies unbroken with the plough; on the west and on the east green desert spaces never yet made white with corn; and to the overcrowded little western nook of Europe, our Terrestrial Planet, nine-tenths of it yet vacant or tenanted by nomades, is still crying, Come and tell me, come and reap me![57]

Carlyle proposed this scheme of emigration in hopes that it would alleviate some of Britain's economic and social problems. In spite of this suggestion for physical or outward reform, Carlyle

fundamentally believed that religion or man's personal relationship with God was ultimately the only area requiring reform. The greatest and final recommendation which Carlyle felt he could advance would be that each man begin to "believe in God." In Past and Present Carlyle concludes that man's belief in the Supreme is truly the only significant factor. He writes,

> Fancy a man, moreover, recommending his fellow men to believe in God, that so Chartism might abate, and the Manchester Operatives be got to spin peaceably!...My friend, if thou ever do come to believe in God, thou wilt find all Chartism, Manchester riot, Parliamentary incompetence, Ministries of Windbag, and the wildest Social Dissolutions, and the burning up of this entire Planet, a small matter in comparison.[58]

Men, Carlyle feared, had lost their belief in the Unfathomable, the Incomprehensible. Advances in science as well as the church's inability to adapt to the new era with its new demands and expectations had resulted in a general disintegration of society's belief and trust in God. "Faith is properly the one thing needful,"[59] Carlyle tells us in Sartor Resartus. Thus, what is required for the future spiritual existence of Britain is a greater degree of personal faith coupled with a new (or perhaps only modified) Christian religion.

Carlyle believed that "Church-Clothes," that is the outward ritual, dogma, institutions, philosophies and practices of a given religion, "are unspeakably the most important of all the vestures and garnitures of Human Existence."[60] Religion is "the inmost Pericardial and Nervous Tissue, which ministers Life and warm Circulation to the whole"[61] body of society. Carlyle suggests, in fact, that it is by religion that a society is made possible. The ideal beyond the actual must necessarily be of a religious nature. Carlyle avers,

> ...Church-Clothes are first spun and woven by Society; outward Religion originates by Society, Society becomes possible by Religion. Nay, perhaps, every conceivable Society, past and present, may well be figured as properly and wholly a Church...[62]

But unfortunately the religious ideal and the Church its physical expression had ceased to satisfy their vital function. Carlyle felt that the Church of England had "gone dumb with old Age." At present it "only mumbles delirium prior to dissolution."[63] In Sartor Resartus Carlyle hints that out of this obsolete and dysfunctional religious garment, a new Church vesture is already beginning to weave and fashion itself. He writes,

> Meanwhile, in our era of the World, those same Church-Clothes have gone sorrowfully out-at-elbows: nay, far worse, many of them have become mere hollow shapes, or Masks, under which no living Figure or Spirit any longer dwells; but only spiders and unclean beetles, in horrid accumulation, drive their trade; and the mask still glares on you with its glass-eyes, in ghastly affectation of Life,- some generation - and half after Religion has quite withdrawn from it, and in unnoticed nooks is weaving for herself new Vestures, wherewith to reappear, and bless us, or our sons or grandsons.[64]

For the future Carlyle both hopes and anticipates that Christianity will revitalize itself. According to Carlyle, the fundamental beliefs and doctrines of Christiantiy are not, and can never become, obsolete. It is only the outward, physical practices which are no longer appropriate or applicable in a modern, industrial society. The "Christian Religion itself is not dead", Carlyle writes in "Shooting Niagara: And After?", "the soul of it is alive forevermore, - and only the dead and rotting body of it is now getting burial."[65] "Christiantiy and Christendom" are the very highest expressions of human thought. But Carlyle points out that these symbols of "quite perennial, infinite character" forever "demand to be anew inquired into, and anew made manifest."[66]

Carlyle rarely even alludes to what outward changes the church must experience in order to once more satisfy its vital spiritual and social functions. One discernible modification, however, appears to revolve around the changing concept of evil. What may have constituted falsehood, the devil or sin in medieval England has changed within the contemporary context. Carlyle warns that the Church, as well as each individual Christian, must come to recognize and direct their spiritual attention toward these modern instances of ungodliness. In Past and Present Carlyle states;

> Could he but find the point again, - take the old spectacles off his nose, and looking up discover, almost in contact with him, what the real Satanas, and soul devouring, world-devouring Devil, now is! Original Sin and such like are bad enough, I doubt not: but distilled Gin, dark Ignorance, Stupidity, dark Corn-Law, Bastille and Company, what are they! Will he discover our new real Satan, whom he has to fight; or go on droning through his old nose-spectacles about old extinct Satans; and never see the real one, till he feel him at his own throat and ours?[67]

As the most fundamental tenet of future religion (as has always been the case with Christianity), Carlyle promotes the practice of prayer. The "Divine Spirit of Religion", Carlyle believes, is best and most completely expressed by each individual reverently and devoutly praying to God, the Heavenly Father. "Only Meditation...and devout prayer to God"[68] will lift the shroud of darkness from the soul of British society. There is, Carlyle claims, only one guaranteed method of improving the quality of British spirituality. In Latter-Day Pamphlets Carlyle elaborates,

> ...there will evidently be no quite effectual 'method' but that of increasing the supply of human Intellect, otherwise definable as Human Worth, in Society generally; increasing the supply of sacred reverence for it, of loyalty to it, and of life-and-death desire and pursuit of it, among all classes, - if we but knew such a 'method'! Alas, that were simply the method of making all classes Servants of Heaven; and except it be devout prayer to Heaven, I have never heard of any method! to increase the

> reverence for Human Intellect or God's Light, and the detestation of Human Stupidity or the Devil's Darkness, what method is there? No method, - except even this, that we should each of us 'pray' for it, instead of praying for mere scrip and the like; that Heaven would please to vouchsafe us each a little of it, one by one![69]

But this prayer, Carlyle warns, must be genuine. In examining the current state of religious worship and prayer, Carlyle found that even these sacred practices had become mechanical and meaningless. The Church of England's articles of faith and written prayers had long since lost any real meaning; people read and repeated them mechanically, without any true sense of reverence or devotion. "Is Mammon and machinery the means of converting human souls, as of spinning cotton?"[70], Carlyle asks. The empty ritual which prayer had become could never succeed in restoring England to a state of Godliness. What religion required for future success was genuine spiritual leadership, a true priesthood.

According to Carlyle, the function of the priesthood in future society must be one of teaching. "For, in very truth", Carlyle asks, "how can Religion be divorced from Education?"[71] Since society is based on religion and since the essence of human achievement and worth is God, religion parallels education. Education strives to transmit the accumulated highest and best aspect of the culture. This, for Carlyle, amounts to the finest physical expressions of the Divine. Thus, education becomes religious in nature and its sacred execution best trusted to men of devout character.

Education in this religious, Divine sense is central in Carlyle's prescription for the future of England. The cultivation of human mental faculties, intellect and insight as Carlyle refers to them, will result in men being able to discern what is good, what is Truth and Order.

A clear, stimulated, "educated" mind can result in "the discovery of the will of Nature, of God's will; the beginning of the capability to walk according to that."[72] Education, in Carlyle's hope for the future of England, becomes a means of decreasing manifestations of the devil, "dark ignorance," stupidity, chaos and falsity and replacing such with Godliness. "Universal Education," Carlyle tells us, "is the first great thing" which is needed. He continues,

> Who would suppose that Education were a thing which had to be advocated on the ground of local expediency, or indeed on any ground? As if it stood not on the basis of everlasting duty, as a prime necessity of man. It is a thing that should need no advocating; much as it does actually need. To impart the gift of thinking to those who cannot think, and yet who could in that case think: this, one would imagine, was the first function a government had to set about discharging. Were it not a cruel thing to see, in any province of an empire, the inhabitants living all mutilated in their limbs, each strong man with his right arm lamed? How much crueler to find the strong soul, with its eyes still sealed, its eyes extinct so that it sees not![73]

With Carlyle's essential remedial measure of universal education comes his proposal for a Minister of Education, a "Minister charged to get this English People taught a little...steering, free and piously fearless, towards his divine goal."[74] Carlyle suggests that the Minister of Education's first task must be to ensure that "all English persons should be taught to read."[75] Literacy, according to Carlyle, is a "miraculous art" and it must be the foundation of all subsequent teaching. The teaching of religion, as such, could not be accomplished till all persons are able to read. In "Chartism" Carlyle expounds,

> ...after thirteen centuries of waiting, he the official person, and England with him, was minded now to have the mystery of the Alphabetic Letters imparted to all human souls in this realm? Teaching of religion was a thing he could not undertake to settle this day; it would be work for a day after this; the work of this day was teaching of the alphabet to all people. The miraculous

> art of reading and writing, such seemed to him the needful preliminary of all teaching, the first corner-stone of what foundation soever could be laid for what edifice soever, in the teaching kind.[76]

Thus, Carlyle promotes the progressive measure of universal education in the form of universal literacy. Every member of society not only has the right to literacy, he has, according to Carlyle, a social obligation or duty to become literate. In relation to the growth, development and Godliness of the entire society, each individual is responsible for the cultivation of his own intellectual capacities as well as those of his children. In "Chartism" Carlyle advances a position not only of universal literacy, but of compulsory, universal literacy. "Reconcile yourselves to the Alphabet, or depart elsewhither!"[77] he exclaims. In fact, the ability to read and write are so important in Carlyle's hope for the future of England that he goes so far as to suggest that illiteracy should be considered criminal. He writes,

> Can we conceive, as in Prussia, that a penalty, civil disabilities, that penalties and disabilities till they were found effectual, might be by law inflicted on every parent who did not teach his children to read, on every man who had not been taught to read.[78]

With respect to the proposed future curriculum, reading and writing would be required for all classes of society. Beyond that, however, we find that Carlyle differentiates between the necessary type and nature of education for the upper and lower orders. The majority of the English population is, and Carlyle calculates will likely always be, of limited ability, of "common intellects." For this mass of society, obedience, reverence and the development of their own particular manual talents and skills, Carlyle believes, will be the most beneficial to society. Although they are numerous and possess only marginal capabil-

ities, their right and responsibility to education remains, in Carlyle's mind, unquestionable. He points out,

> These Twenty-four million intellects are but common intellects; but they are intellects; in earnest about the matter, instructed each about his own province of it; labouring each perpetually, with what partial light can be attained, to bring such province into rationality.[79]

The intellects which establish themselves as superior, whether by birth or talent, will require some special educational considerations. Similar to the "common intellects", they must be taught to read and write, to be devout, obedient and reverent and to develop their own unique talents. Because their talents are greater, their intellects uncommon, spiritual teacher's and spiritual expectation must follow. Out of this aristocracy of talent or birth must come England's future leaders. The type of leadership which Carlyle indentified as most immediately necessary for social harmony is industrial leadership. He advocates abolishing obsolete aspects of the curriculum and replacing them with courses appropriate for leaders in the new industrial context.

> I foresee [Carlyle writes] that our Etons and Oxfords with their nonsense - verses, college-logics, and broken crumbs of mere speech, - which is not even English or Teutonic speech, but old Grecian and Italian speech, dead and buried and much lying out of our way these two thousand years last past, - will be found a most astonishing seminary for the training of young English souls to take command in human Industries, and act a valiant part under the sun![80]

Carlyle believed that t[illegible] educational as well as political, social and economic modifications would occur gradually over several generations. He did not feel that outward changes would affect the inward spiritual domain; rather, he believed the opposite to be true. Carlyle anticipated an improvement in the spiritual realm which would be followed by improvements in all physical aspects of society. In

Past and Present Carlyle mentions that because he is convinced the spiritual disposition of England will eventually improve, he suggests outward remedial measures. Physical plans of reform would never take root unless the spiritual soil of Britain was fertile and conducive to germination. He write,

> If I believed that Mammonism with its adjuncts was to continue henceforth the one serious principle of our existence, I should reckon it idle to solicit remedial measure from any Government, the disease being insusceptible to remedy.[81]

Carlyle believed that the future of England would harmonize with Divine Intention. A new era of Godliness, "a ghost and spirit as yet, but heralding new Spirit-worlds, and better Dynasties than the Dollar one,"[82] would come where men recognized Truth and Order and lived their lives accordingly. Carlyle speaks very optimistically and very definately about the improved spiritual future in store for England.

> There will [he claims] a radical universal alteration of your regimen and way of life take place; there will a most agonising divorce between you and your chimeras, luxuries and falsities, take place; a most toilsome, all but 'impossible' return to Nature, and her veracities, and her integrities, take place: that so the inner fountains of life may again begin like eternal Light-fountains, to irradiate and purify your bloated, swollen, foul existence, drawing nigh, as at present, to nameless death![83]

Although Carlyle was extremely harsh in criticizing the present, he believed that men and their society would improve in the future. For Carlyle, in fact, the concept and possibility of a future, in many respects, guaranteed, at least, the hope of improvement. The future, as yet undetermined, uncharted and unknown, held whatever possibilities mankind chose. God, in man's best interest, acting as a father, would not let his children drift unguided through the cosmos. The last few sentences of Carlyle's essay, "Characteristics," which deals almost

exclusively with the current, ungodly condition of England, reads,

> Behind us, behind each one of us, lie Six Thousand Years of human effort, human conquest: before us is the boundless Time, with its as yet uncreated and unconquered Continents and Eldorados, which we, even we, have to conquer, to create; and from the bosom of Eternity there shine for us celestial guiding stars.[84]

FOOTNOTES

1. T. Carlyle, Sartor Resartus and Selected Prose, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1970, p. 204. Hereafter referred to as Sartor Resartus.

2. T. Carlyle, "Signs of the Times", Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Volume II, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, p.56. Hereafter referred to as "Signs of the Times."

3. Sartor Resartus, p. 97.

4. T. Carlyle, Past and Present, Richard D. Altick (ed.), Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1965, p. 291. Hereafter referred to as Past and Present.

5. James Morison, who died in 1840, was a self-described "Hygeist" who compounded a "vegetable universal medicine" which was widely advertised, for example, in the monthly parts in which some of Dicken's novels were first published. Carlyle consistently misspells his name.

6. Past and Present, p. 31.

7. Ibid., p. 33.

8. T. Carlyle, Latter-Day Pamphlets, Works, Volume V, Chapman and Hall Limited, London, 1885, p. 118. Hereafter referred to as Latter-Day Pamphlets.

9. Ibid., p. 93.

10. Ibid., p. 28.

11. Ibid., p. 93

12. T. Carlyle, "Shooting Niagara: And After?", Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Volume V, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, page 19. Hereafter referred to as "Shooting Niagara: And After?"

13. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 100.

14. "Shooting Niagara: And After?", p.23.

15. T. Carlyle, "Characteristics", Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Volume III, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, p. 42. Hereafter referred to as "Characteristics".

16. Past and Present, p. 35.

17. Ibid., p. 39.

18. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 238.

19. Ibid., p. 239.

20. Sartor Resartus, p. 231.

21. Ibid., p. 104.

22. Latter-Day Pamphlets , p. 96 .

23. Ibid., p. 104.

24. Past and Present, p.38.

25. "Shooting Niagara: And After?", p. 16.

26. Ibid., p. 21.

27. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 99.

28. Past and Present, p. 267.

29. Ibid., p. 39.

30. Ibid., p.p. 30-31.

31. Sartor Resartus, p. 194.

32. Ibid., p. 266.

33. Past and Present, p. 39.

34. Sartor Resartus, p. 226.

35. Past and Present, p. 269.

36. T. Carlyle, "Chartism ", Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Volume IV, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, p. 123 . Hereafter referred to as "Chartism."

37. Ibid., p. 186.

38. Past and Present, p. 24.

39. Ibid., p. 292.

40. Ibid., p. 267.

41. "Shooting Niagara: And After?", p. 31.
42. Past and Present, p. 268.
43. Ibid., p. 271.
44. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 142.
45. "Chartism", p. 168.
46. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 246.
47. Past and Present, p. 261.
48. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 130.
49. "Shooting Niagara: And After?", p. 32.
50. Ibid., p. 33.
51. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 130.
52. Past and Present, p. 262.
53. "Characteristics", p.p.42-43.
54. "Chartism", p. 200.
55. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p.p. 131-32.
56. "Chartism", p. 199.
57. Ibid., p. 203.
58. Past and Present, p. 224.
59. Sartor Resartus, p. 161.
60. Ibid., p. 202.
61. Ibid., p. 203.
62. Ibid., p. 202.
63. Ibid., p. 203.
64. Ibid.
65. "Shooting Niagara: And After?", p. 29.
66. Sartor Resartus, p. 210.

67. Past and Present, p. 242.

68. Sartor Resartus, p. 199.

69. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 98.

70. "Chartism", p. 196.

71. Ibid., p. 195.

72. Ibid., p. 194.

73. Ibid., p.p. 192-93.

74. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 128.

75. "Chartism", p. 197.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid., p. 199.

78. Ibid., p. 198.

79. Ibid., p. 194.

80. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p.p. 143-44.

81. Past and Present, p. 267.

82. Ibid., p. 292.

83. Ibid., p.p. 28-29.

84. "Characteristics", p. 43.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Carlyle was a deeply religious man. He believed unquestioningly in an Absolute, Supreme Power which existed in every physical aspect of the world.

> ...this fair Universe, [he writes in Sartor Resartus] were it in the meanest province thereof, is in very deed the star-domed City of God; that through every star, through every grass-blade, and most through every Living Soul, the glory of a present God still beams.[1]

At the same time, however, this physical dimension of the world Carlyle recognized as an illusion of sorts, secondary in significance to the deeper spiritual or Godly essence which the material world merely represents. It is because of this basic religious premise that Carlyle organized and understood the world in exclusively spiritual terms. For Carlyle, every aspect of the material world was an expression or reflection of the spiritual essence residing within. This fundamental philosophical basis colours all of Carlyle's perceptions, opinions and speculations.

Since Carlyle's primary concerns were spiritual, medieval political, social, economic and educational practices were analyzed from a spiritual, rather than factual, perspective. Medieval political leadership, for example, Carlyle dealt with through an elaborate

metaphoric narrative of Abbot Samson. From the story of Abbot Samson and St. Edmund's monastery, Carlyle illustrated his belief that the mass of society in the Middle Ages was able to select spiritually competent leadership and, in fact, that true spiritual leadership eventually found its proper place of recognition and authority.

Carlyle viewed all practices in the Middle Ages as harmonizing with Divine Intention. He suggested that social arrangements were just and appropriate within the feudal context. The aristocracy guided and governed while the remainder of society laboured in varying capacities and functions. Men were bonded to each other by more than a cash nexus. Education was a simple effective system of practical apprenticeship. Carlyle pointed out that this was the case in every occupation. Studying under some experienced elder the young would acquire all the necessary skills, langauge, habits and values of the trade. In examining political, social and education practices in the Middle Ages, Carlyle detected a general belief and faith in God. Something Divine and Noble held society together as a whole organic unit. An Ideal existed beyond the actual. Society was spiritually healthy.

Carlyle's analysis of the spiritual condition of medieval society was most significant to him as it related to the present state of Britain. The relative tranquility which Carlyle believed existed in the Middle Ages was contrasted with the turmoil and turbulence of contemporary society. Thus, the present was seen by Carlyle as a sick, ungodly chaos. In examining the physical symptoms of society's illness, Carlyle consistently diagnoses the cause as a lack of spirituality, an insufficient awareness of the Absolute.

Carlyle identified instances of evil and disorder in all areas of contemporary British society. Based on "black democracy", current

political practices were particularly objectionable. Giving "twenty seven millions mostly fools"[2] the authority to select leadership had resulted in unspiritual government, an exact measure of the internal ability to articulate eloquently appeared to be the only necessary qualification for political leadership. Carlyle feared that England had become "wholly a bag of wind."[3]

Similarly, Carlyle viewed contemporary social and economic practices as ungodly and unspiritual. He fiercely criticized a government which employed "laissez faire donothingism" in a society which so desperately required governing and guidance. In examining the Britain of his day, Carlyle saw "cheap and nasty" as the rule of production; supply and demand replacing "command and obedience." Men no longer laboured for noble or Divine reasons; every worker appeared to labour only for the wages he could collect. Society, in general, revolved around a cash nexus, devoid of higher forces such as loyalty, love, pride and reverence. Self-interest, Carlyle tells us, had become the only motivating power. Society had lost its organic wholeness; each individual limb and organ functioned only for its individual benefits, disregarding the larger social body.

Carlyle believed that due to a lack of genuine, living religion, society, in every sense, had grown mechanical. Without a belief in God as an Ideal or Abstract toward which to aspire or gauge truth and order, actions and thoughts were empty of any meaning and significance. No quality or pride remained in British industry or production; goods were manufactured mechanically without regard for quality or craftsmanship. Religion, Carlyle believed, was similarly little more than empty mechanical rituals and prayers which had long since grown obsolete.

Even education had become the mechanical transmission of dead, useless facts,no longer concerned with cultivating the higher, spiritual Divineness which exists in each soul. Contemporary society, according to Carlyle, was "sick and out of joint."[4]

In Sartor Resartus Carlyle wrote, "...the Present seems little other than an inconsiderable Film dividing the Past and the Future."[5] It was in this sense that his description of the present related to his hopeful optimism for the future of England. His proposals for the future followed from his appreciation of the past and his criticism of the present. An increased faith and awareness of God, a new, living religion and a regeneration of spiritual forces were the essence of Carlyle's prescription for England.

Carlyle's first concern revolved around discovering and defining the necessary spiritual qualities of political leadership. Carlyle believed that if spiritual government could be recognized and delegated authority, Britain would once more begin to walk the path of Godliness. At the same time, however, he admits that the spiritual quality and nature of a people are expressed in the leadership they select and tolerate rather than the reverse. In this same sense, Carlyle points out that all social, economic and educational practices can only improve or approximate perfection if the spiritual level of the population improves simultaneously.

Thus, for the future harmony of British society, Carlyle suggests that ultimately only an improvement in the general spiritual quality of the population is mandatory. If the spiritual level of the mass of the community is elevated, all practices and institutions will, in turn, reflect an elevation in the Divine essence within. In order to

elicit an increased level of spirituality, Carlyle proposed two basic points. He suggested that each person begin to pray sincerely and cultivate his personal, private relationship with God. It is the Divine within each individual which accumulates to manifest God on earth.

On a somewhat more practical, concrete level, Carlyle's second suggestion was concerned with education, specifically literacy. For Carlyle, ignorance was an expression of the devil and the alleviation or decrease of it, an act of God. The ability to read, write and think Carlyle considered pre-requisite to acting in a manner consistent with Truth, Order and Goodness. Carlyle suggested that universal, compulsory education, based on a spiritual rather than factual curriculum, more certainly than any parliamentary reforms, would begin to replace contemporary falsehood and chaos with future Truth and Order.

For Carlyle, the present "condition of England" and the possibility of future improvement were life-long obsessions. His diagnosis of contemporary political, social, economic and educational maladies as well as the prescriptive measures he suggested were all directed at the level and quality of British spirituality. Although he has been criticized because his suggestions were ill-formulated and vague, he nonetheless exerted a strong influence on nineteenth century British thought. His attention was not directed toward detailed, specific measures of reform; for such, he admitted, was not his area of expertise. "His genius made itself felt more as a spiritual force"[6] and, thus, he earned the frequently used title of "Prophet." According to a reviewer for Eliza Cook's Journal,

> He has uttered, with the voice of an old Hebrew prophet, the feeling of disquiet and unrest which pervades society; and his 'Woe!

> Woe!' and 'Mene, Tekel, Upharsin!' have startled many in the midst of their pleasant dreams of peace and progress. He is the Jeremiah of modern days, full of wailing at the backslidings of our race.[7]

In 1870, John Morely, a writer for the Fortnightly Review, similarly recognized Carlyle's influence and power as prophetic.

> Here was the friendly fire-bearer who first conveyed the Promethean spark, here the Prophet who first smote the rock...one of Mr. Carlyle's chief and just glories is, that for more than thirty years he has clearly been and kept constantly and conspicuously in his own sight and that of his readers the profoundly important crisis in the midst of which we are living.[8]

Within the context of his own time and country, Carlyle was harshly criticized for his loftly ideas and lack of practical suggestions. This criticism, of course, could be levelled against any prophet. Carlyle's point of focus is justifiable if he is recognized as prophetic rather than practical. It can only be by those who expect something other than prophetic insight that such criticism is made. A typical example is found in an 1881 edition of Fraser's Magazine.

> His utterances about the sorrows and confusions of his time are often not much more articulate than the voice in which the spirit of the dead New Zealanders speak through their Tohunga, like the sighing sounds of the wind in an empty vessel. His Latter-Day Pamphlets are the lamentations of a hopeless Jeremiah.[9]

Criticism of this sort suggests that at least some nineteenth century Englishmen thought that something more than a prophet was necessary. Many people, in fact, recognized that England was in an age of transition and desperately required changes in political, social, economic and educational practices and policies. That past arrangments were no longer satisfactory and that new arrangements were necessary was

obvious to many. With the rise of liberal thought, however, it was hoped and assumed that elected leadership would satisfy the needs of the majority. As democratic thought grew steadily in popularity, Carlyle's position began to lose credibility. The apparently noble, high ideals of democracy, real or otherwise, left Carlyle's political stance looking anything but Godly. The Edinburgh Review, which had printed many of Carlyle's early essays, commented in 1881:

> All institutions are shams. Parliamentary government is the worst of shams. The Idea of government by the voice and will of the numbers is a preposterous delusion...the only ruler of men is a tyrant who has strength or cunning to grasp and retain power. Slavery is a natural institution, since it is based on the evident superiority of the white race over the black. Force not only governs the world but it absorbs and extinguishes the rights of those who presume to resist it. All these propositions may be found in Mr. Carlyle's writings or may be fairly deduced from them.[10]

It may be that Carlyle was often misunderstood within his own century. To many Radicals and Liberals, his distrust of the enfranchised majority and his contempt for free competition were intellectually so offensive that his underlying spiritual emphasis was obscured. "Being therefore thought of as neither reformer nor democrat; neither optimist nor rationalist, he was held up as the antithesis of liberalism."[11] Since liberalism was rapidly becoming the dominant ideology of British political thought, Carlyle's spiritual focus lost much of its credibility. Most English citizens wanted to believe that they were wise enough to elect their own leadership; that they were not foolish and wicked, and that intense governmental interference was not necessary in a civilized society.

Thus, the influence Carlyle had as a political observer and

theorist was minimal at the physical or worldly level. No specific reforms or pieces of legislation occurred as the direct result of Carlyle's lectures or writings. Yet within his time, his influence was apparent. Since his concern was consistently with the spiritual domain, it seems appropriate that Carlyle's influence should similarly be experienced primarily at the spiritual level. In trying to deduce the nature of Carlyle's influence upon thought in Britain, the Contemporary Review concluded;

> No doubt it is easier to say what that influence was not than what it was. It was not that of an instructor, enlarging the field of intellectual vision and bringing new facts to the storehouse of thought; nor yet that of a critic, supplying new logical machinery for the working up of these facts into theories; it was a power which told not alone on the intellect but the whole nature, and did not so much present new material to thought, as new life to thought itself. Carlyle appears to us the great witness to the permanent inspiration of humanity.[12]

When Carlyle died in 1881, numerous obituaries appeared in magazines and periodicals. Many of these eulogies dealt with the spiritual influence Carlyle had exerted upon England. His death spawned a certain degree of forgiveness or tolerance for his failure to offer applicable, empirically tested advice during his lifetime. British intellectuals began to acknowledge that his influence originated as an emotional and spiritual force and that offers of a concrete nature were never his intention.

The Sword and Trowel printed a remarkably eulogistic obituary written by C.A. Davis. Davis refers to Carlyle as a "grand wayward genius,"

> ...whose rugged moral teachings, unflinching hostility to shams, invincible

> maintenance of what is real, have been the most efficient backbone producing agent in the realm of character in this otherwise soft age...he was a great Force: he imparted an intellectual and moral impetus to thousands; he made his mark on his country, and has left behind him an influence, on the whole, noble and godly.[13]

A century has passed since Carlyle's death. Having adjusted and adapted to an industrial based economy, Britain has resolved, for the most part, the intense social upheaval which characterized the previous century. In observing England in the twentieth century, the question arises, to what extent has Carlyle's vision of the future been realized in contemporary British society? Has England arrived at the spiritually noble and harmonious point which Carlyle optimistically hoped and anticipated it would? In addressing these questions let us speculatively hypothesize what Carlyle's evaluation of current political, social, economic and educational practices may have been if he were alive today.

Democracy, as both an abstract ideal and a concrete practice, at present so totally dominates British political thought, that for the majority of that country no alternative is even remotely possible. Freedom of the press, which Carlyle believed contributed to evil and disorder rather than good government, is everywhere the order of the day. To the twenty-seven million fools which Carlyle saw voting and deciding can now be added the voice of women and children. Carlyle, I suspect, would certainly not have recognized the extension of franchise to women or the continually decreasing voting age as conducive, in any sense, to obtaining good government.

Perhaps the most blatant example of political evil, chaos and disorder which Carlyle could witness in Britain in the 1980's would be

the current Prime Minister. Giving a vote to every man and woman as well as many children, regardless of ability, insight or proven talent, has resulted in a "woman" being placed at the helm. I can visualize Carlyle, in horror and disgust, shaking his head and perhaps exclaiming, "This, sad citizens of England, is the net result of your ominous black Democracy!"

Carlyle believed that social stratification based on class was unspiritual and tended to fragment society. With a revitalization of spiritual forces, he anticipated a more organic wholeness in future Britain. We find in examining Britain today that class consciousness has, in fact, diminished. However, this has not necessarily resulted in a more unified social body. Trade Unions, which Carlyle promoted as necessary elements, have merely replaced social class in causing dissention among the British community.

Labour and Trade Unions have grown very strong and influential in England. They are formed and exist in order to exert influence upon society for the benefit of their members only. I believe that Carlyle would have acknowledged the decrease of class consciousness as a step toward the path of Godliness. At the same time, he would admit that twentieth century England was even further away from a genuine wholeness than one hundred years earlier. In his time Carlyle complained that each social hand and organ acted selfishly, independent of the total social body. Now, much to his horror, Carlyle could complain that each social finger and blood vessel functioned and contrived solely for its own personal benefit.

In Carlyle's vision of future British society, unemployment

was non-existent. Because of his "Gospel of Labour", the very concept of unemployment was repugnant to him. Yet in contemporary society we find the number of unemployed increasing constantly. For Carlyle, this statistic would not be consistent with a spiritually healthy society. The existence of unemployment insurance schemes and benefits, guaranteeing a minimum standard of living to the unemployed, Carlyle would undoubtedly diagnose as an act of the devil. I can hear grief-stricken Carlyle moan, "God placed ye on this his fair green earth to toil after your daily bread! To what depths of evil and ugliness has a government degenerated which guarantees moneys to a man who will not work."

As a means of reducing the number of unemployed within his own century, Carlyle proposed a scheme of mass emigration to the colonies. We find, in fact, that large numbers of people from the British Isles did emigrate to the British colonies in the decades following Carlyle's death. In keeping with equality and democratic thought, however, emigration from Britain to the colonies was accompanied by immigration from the colonies to Britain. The government did not reckon on the swarms of foreigners which sought to immigrate to Britain and eventually steps had to be taken to curtail their numbers. The social problems and prejudice which presently exist as the result of these thousands of legitimate British subjects, Carlyle certainly would not define as contributing to social cohesion. Ethnic stratification is acute, causing further dissention and fragmentation from Carlyle's organic notion of society. Prejudice and hostility toward ethnic minorities, who are often scapegoated for social and economic problems, has reached explosive levels. Black and white youths rioting in the streets of London, Carlyle would aver, reflects a level of spirituality even lower than

existed a hundred years earlier.

As a means of increasing Britain's spiritual awareness and decreasing ignorance and stupidity, manifestations of the devil, Carlyle proposed universal, compulsory education in the specific form of universal literacy. This aspect of Carlyle's vision for the future of Britain has been completely realized. Universal, free, compulsory education is a well established reality in England today. Similarly, universal literacy, which Carlyle only dreamed of a century ago, is a fact in Britain today. In many respects universal education and literacy have resulted in a general decrease of ignorance but if Carlyle could examine and evaluate modern educational practices, would he agree that light had replaced darkness?

Britain's modern curriculum reflects the dominant position of empiricism; facts and formulas constitute a major portion of what students are expected to learn. The sciences are indeed the gods of contemporary society. The godless discipline of science has assumed a central position in contemporary educational practices. In examining the degree of spirituality apparent in the modern curriculum, Carlyle would undoubtedly conclude that an education of only empirical detail is far worse than no education at all.

Computers are one of modern science's contributions to public education. Computer-assisted education has the advantage of decreasing necessary teacher time as well as alleviating many tedious tasks involved in education. What opinion would Carlyle venture in relation to computer education? In 1830 Carlye argued that learning occurs "like a spirit, by mysterious contact of Spirit."[14] I believe Carlyle would be speechless with non-belief at a society which places a child in front of a

machine and expects him to gain any small fraction of what he needs to feel, experience or believe. Carlyle claimed that thought kindles "itself at the fire of living Thought."[15] If he complained that the educational practices of his day were "burnt-out" to a dead grammatical cinder",[16] how positive would his evaluation of contemporary computer education be?

And what of the spiritual quality of teachers? Since education and religion were almost synonomous for Carlyle, he suggested that future educators should essentially be equivalent to priests. Because education was a sacred duty, it would be best left to men of the highest spiritual quality; individuals with a living relationship with God and a genuine desire to enact his will. In examining modern teacher training philosophies and practices, we find that this dimension of Carlyle's vision for the future has certainly not been realized. Teacher education presently deals with curriculum and methodologies, some educational psychology and administration, perhaps a sprinkling of educational history and philosophy; but never any hint of religion. Teacher education never addresses personal spirituality; never is a potential educator asked, "Is there any nobleness in you?" Carlyle may have concluded that the amount of teacher training time which currently exists is sufficient. However, I'm certain he would argue that the nature of contemporary teacher training only serves to reinforce the present level of darkness and spiritual ignorance and guarantees that chaos and disorder are further transmitted to British youth.

In general, it seems safe to say that Carlyle would in no sense approve of the form which universal education has assumed. The unspiritual dominance of empiricism and science in the curriculum,

the mechanical tranmission of facts and formulas most acutely experienced in computer-assisted education and the ungodly quality of teacher training all do not correspond with Carlyle's positive vision of the future. British education in this century has not succeeded in decreasing darkness and ignorance. If Carlyle could evaluate contemporary educational practices, he would undoubtedly conclude that twentieth century education has only succeeded in obscuring God's earthly presence. Education has not revitalized the spiritual forces of society; it has to an even greater degree robbed men of their faith in things unseen.

It may be that Carlyle miscalculated when he reckoned Britain's spiritual disposition would begin to improve within a "few generations." Or it may be that we have misconstrued his concept of time in concluding that a century would be sufficient for society to realize Carlyle's vision of the future. It may be the case that one hundred years have elapsed but that for all intents and purposes the twentieth century is still contained within Carlyle's diagnosis of the present. Perhaps society needs longer to convulse in cancerous agony before its dead carcass can be cast aside and replaced with a living, breathing social body.

In truth, Carlyle believed that all eras, all times past and present, are necessary elements in a larger plan. All times effect, influence and depend on one another. Carlyle's optimism cannot be dismissed. Even if twentieth century Britain has sunk into an intensely unspiritual state, a better day must come. If Carlyle is right, God has a master plan for mankind and ultimately the quality and condition of the world is in His hands.

"So has it been from the beginning, so will it be to the end. Generation after generation takes to itself the Form of a Body; and forth-issuing from Cimmerian Night, on Heaven's mission APPEARS. What Force and Fire is in each he expends: one grinding in the mill of Industry; one hunter-like climbing the giddy Alpine heights of Science; one madly dashed in pieces on the rocks of Strife, in war with his fellow: - and then the Heaven-sent is recalled; his earthly Vesture falls away, and soon even to sense becomes a vanished Shadow. Thus, like some wild-flaming, wild-thundering train of Heaven's Artillery, does this mysterious mankind thunder and flame, in long-drawn, quick-succeeding grandeur, through the unknown Deep. Thus, like a God-created, fire-breathing Spirit-host, we emerge from the Inane; haste stormfully across the astonished Earth; then plunge again into the Inane. Earth's mountains are levelled, and her seas filled up, in our passage: can the Earth, which is but dead and a vision, resist Spirits which have reality and are alive? On the hardest adamant some footprint of us is stamped-in; the last Rear of the host will read traces of the earliest Van. But whence? - O Heaven, whither? Sense knows not; Faith knows not; only that it is through Mystery to Mystery, from God to God.[17]

FOOTNOTES

1. T. Carlyle, Sartor Resartus and Selected Prose, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1970, p. 241. Hereafter referred to as Sartor Resartus.

2. T. Carlyle, Latter-Day Pamphlets, Works, Volume V, Chapman and Hall, London, 1885, p. 165.

3. T. Carlyle, Past and Present, R. Altick (ed.), Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1965, p.p. 218-19.

4. T. Carlyle, "Signs of the Times", Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Volume II, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, p. 81.

5. Sartor Resartus, p. 229.

6. G. Knox, Thomas Carlyle's Reputation in Nineteenth Century British Periodicals: 1850 - 1881, (Master's Thesis, The University of Oregon, 1949), p. 2.

7. Eliza Cook's Journal, Volume III, John Owen Clarke, London, October, 1850, p. 369.

8. J. Morley, "Carlyle", Fortnightly Review, Volume XLIII, Chapman and Hall, London, July 1, 1870, p.p. 1 - 22.

9. "Mr. Carlyle's Reminiscences", Fraser's Magazine, Volume XXIII, John W. Parker, London, April, 1881, p. 520.

10. Edinburgh Review, Volume CLIII, Adam and Charles Black, London, 1881, p. 433.

11. Knox, p. 95.

12. "A Study of Carlyle", Contemporary Review, Strahan and Company Ltd., London, April, 1881, p. 594.

13. C. A. Davis, "Thomas Carlyle", Sword and Trowel, Passmore and Alabaster, London, 1881, p. 336.

14. Sartor Resartus, p. 118.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., p. 243.

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